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Makers of National History

Edited by W. H. HUTTON, B.D.

ARCHBISHOP PARKER

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ARCHBISHOP PARKER

111



MATTHEW PARKER, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY
Ob. 1575

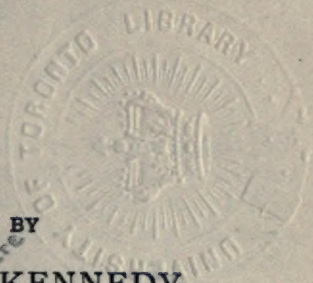
From the original painting in the collection of His Grace the
Archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth Palace

After the engraving by T. A. Dean

ARCHBISHOP PARKER

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BY
W. M. KENNEDY



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MAKERS OF NATIONAL HISTORY

It is intended in this series to commemorate important men whose share in the making of national history seems to need a more complete record than it has yet received. In some cases the character, the achievements, or the life, have been neglected till modern times ; in most cases new evidence has recently become available ; in all cases a new estimate according to the historical standards of to-day seems to be called for. The aim of the series is to illustrate the importance of individual contributions to national development, in action and in thought. The foreign relations of the country are illustrated, the ecclesiastical position, the evolution of party, the meaning and influence of causes which never succeeded. No narrow limits are assigned. It is hoped to throw light upon English history at many different periods, and perhaps to extend the view to peoples other than our own. It will be attempted to show the value in national life of the many different interests that have employed the service of man.

The authors of the lives are writers who have a special knowledge of the periods to which the subjects of their memoirs belonged.

W. H. HUTTON.

S. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

LITTLE excuse is needed for writing a new life of Archbishop Parker. Strype's work, while preserving a vast number of documents to which every student must refer, is not such as would appeal to the general reader, and in addition is frequently inaccurate. Parker's primacy was perhaps the most important in the history of the English Church, and yet it has received little recognition in comparison with its importance.

The method which I have tried to follow in this book is twofold. First, an effort has been made to work through the various manuscript and printed sources of the period, and to approach the subject as it were first hand. Thus I have tried to arrive at accurate facts. Second, I have endeavoured to eliminate prejudice and to deal fairly with all parties. I have, as it were, attempted to throw myself back into the period, and to look out on the complicated problems with Parker's eyes. When he became primate there lay before him a very ambiguous future. On the one hand was the Marian party, which was pledged heart and soul to the see of Rome and mediæval theology. On the other was the extreme reforming party, which desired to make the English Church more and more like the extreme Continental churches in ceremonial and theology. It required tact and wisdom to steer between these extremes, and at the same time to preserve the catholicity of

the Church. No man could have been called to the work better fitted than Parker. He brought to his task, gentleness, moderation, and scholarship. He was always ready to deal kindly with the better type of Puritan, who did not seek to drive his arguments beyond reason. He was always prepared to accept a compromise in ceremonial, where a "reverent moderation" was preserved. But when it came to questions of doctrine and discipline which were intimately connected with the accepted traditions of the Church, he knew how to be firm, and how to defend his position by no inconsiderable body of learning. In fact it may be said that in his primacy originated the *Via Media* for which Anglicanism stands. The *Via Media* implied no compromise. It was an attempt to secure the truths which each extreme party possessed and to eliminate their errors. Parker grasped the broad principles of the Reformation and saw that they could be applied to the English Church without betraying in any way the catholicity of the Church. He gave to the English Church a character which she has never lost: a wide freedom for the individual within clearly defined limitations.

With regard to the religious nomenclature, I have used the terms now commonly employed. The phrases "old religion" and "new religion" represent the Marian and Elizabethan state of affairs. It need hardly be said, that strictly speaking, there was no "new religion."

In many places I have departed from generally accepted positions and ventured to differ from the historians of the period, but I have done so from a careful study of the authorities. These have as far as possible been placed at the end of each chapter.

Every effort has been made to make full acknowledgment, but it would be impossible to set down in detail the obligations which I owe to Strype, Dixon, Mr. Frere, Dr. Gee, Mr. Mullinger, and Dom Birt.

I cannot record in full the names of all those who have helped me, but I would especially thank the authorities of the various libraries for unfailing courtesy and interest, the clergy of Norwich for special information, and the Rev. E. Rhys Jones for much help and hospitality. I would express my sincerest thanks to Mr. Frere for guidance, supervision and note books, and for much patience with my inexperience. I would also thank the Community of the Resurrection, Mirfield, for the loan of many books. Finally, I would like to thank Mr. Hutton, the general editor of the series, for expert criticism and kind suggestions.

W. M. K.

St. Michael's Day, 1908.

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XIV

ARCHBISHOP PARKER

Archbishop Parker

CHAPTER I

THE REFORMATION

THE Reformation has suffered more than any other great moral and religious upheaval from the treatment which it has received at the hands of historians. Many circumstances have contrived to produce this result. During the movement itself side-issues frequently obscured principles and diverted the main current into unimportant channels. Kneeling at the reception of the Holy Eucharist was as keenly debated as the doctrine of the Real Presence. The use of the surplice produced a literature almost as voluminous as that which gathered round the Christian ministry and church discipline. Thus at the outset it is difficult to trace the main stream and to separate insignificant details from that which is of lasting value. Besides, it has too frequently happened that the Reformation in England has been looked upon as a mere isolated revolt apart from any historical setting. According to this view, England was specially chosen to spread again the light of Christianity in a world from which faith and morals had practically disappeared. Such an estimate has been eminently acceptable to the pride of the average Englishman. The other extreme is reached when the

**False views
of the
Reforma-
tion.**

English Reformation is viewed as the child of Germany or Switzerland. This mistake has been most unfortunate. It has magnified the influence of continental reformers to such an extent as to obscure the fact that the English Church preserved her national characteristic of sturdy independence. It is true that many traces of foreign influence may be found, but these are mere traces of no vital importance.¹ The source of the English Reformation must be sought in the heart of the English people. It was no isolated revolt. It was no product of foreign Protestantism. It was a national church, an integral part of the one body of Christ, taking its part in a great European movement, which in itself was no new revelation of God. It was a call back to older ideals and sterner duties. It takes its place beside the earlier missionary zeal of the Church, the ideals of Gregory VII and the devotion of S. Francis and S. Dominic. It differs from these only in degree, because it covered a larger geographical area and applied searching criticism to the minutest details of the accepted ecclesiastical system. But it is merely one among the many movements by which God has offered to His Church an opportunity to assert, to discipline, or to arouse herself. And as the divine method is unity in diversity, so the Reformation offered all the opportunities necessary for a national Church to assert her individuality without necessarily endangering the unity of the body. During such a time of storm and stress there must be much interaction. The predominating influences in different countries will for a time leave their mark on one another, and men will often follow the greatest crowd or the noisiest revolutionary. This

undoubtedly was the case in England. But it is contrary to all history to hold up these stormy, incoherent, and fickle moments as the permanent and true. A writer who looked on Robespierre and Marat and their associates as forming the French Revolution, would not for a moment be seriously considered in any question of an historical estimate of that tremendous revolt. The French Revolution was the necessary outcome of the teaching of Jean Jacques Rousseau, of the widening ideals of justice and freedom. The extremists left their impress deeply on it, and helped for many years to rob France herself of the benefits which she gave to the rest of Europe, but he would be a foolhardy historian who made them the beginning and end of the Revolution. And so in a wider sense it is true of the Reformation. Phases at any random moment during its progress to which peculiar circumstances at home and abroad lent a temporary prominence are no more the Reformation than the "red full fury of the Seine" is the French Revolution.

Besides, the reformers must not be mixed up with the Reformation nor the Reformation with Henry's divorce, which merely accelerated and for a time emphasized the inevitable. No one was to blame more than Rome herself. The whole system of Church Law had become a mere farce. Indulgences and dispensations had reduced it to such a ludicrous condition that it made little difference how many enactments were drawn up. The history has yet to be written of the attitude of Rome towards her own regulations on marriage, but from what we do know it would not form a pleasant study. It has been the custom on one hand to hold up Clement VII

Henry's
divorce.

as the splendid protector of the sacredness of marriage, and on the other, Henry has appeared as a monster of undisciplined passion. Both positions are far from just. The question which forces itself upon us is—did Rome's action in the past give any hope to the King? What was really at issue was not so much the divorce as the whole system by which we know the popes had created loopholes for escape from their own laws, and thus made it possible for such an appeal to be made. It is a dreary history and far too complicated to be unravelled here. But Campeggio would have found an escape for Henry had not the political issues turned the balance against him. The Emperor, Charles V, decided England's fate, not Clement VII. The Pope dared not break with such a near neighbour as the head of the Roman Catholic world. Rightly or wrongly the papal dispensation (as had often happened before) was refused to Henry because it was not politically expedient. This refusal in some dim way helped to carry the people of England against Rome. The only person whose interests were considered was the Pope. He sacrificed nation and king to the Emperor, and it gradually dawned upon Englishmen that Clement VII refused to add another dispensation to the "shady" number already given, because Henry was not as important a factor in European politics as Charles V. It was the fault of the papal system that Henry should have for a moment thought of having his marriage annulled, because that system presented many precedents in which law was sacrificed to convenience. It was the misfortune of the same system to find itself at the time of the appeal face to face with the question

of balancing political power. The moral aspect did not really enter in. Men were living under the Church of Rome, and it would have been no outrage to have granted the divorce, because men believed that the Pope could grant almost anything under his dispensing power. The insult to the nation was not a moral but a political insult, and Henry's divorce served to gather into a strong national movement the broken protests of history against political interference. On the other hand, Henry had some sort of conscience. It is not our purpose, nor indeed our duty to enter into the question of his personal religion. At any rate, he was officially religious and he desired as far as his nature and passion would allow to cloke his actions with official sanction. He never allowed his lust to parade itself before the world as a Cæsar Borgia had done. Once his object was attained, he lent the Reformation what history must call an honest support and desired it to proceed as far as possible along the lines of sanity and reason in a century which saw the consciousness of national life and freedom awakening in England, amid forces requiring careful handling.

The Renaissance had opened up a new world of culture and learning, and men were beginning to see that there was more in human life than a narrow ecclesiastical system suggested. After the unjustifiable restraints which, in theory at least, bound them down during the Middle Ages, and eliminated all ideals and visions, it was natural that there should be a violent reaction, when beauty and culture once again emerged as part of the human inheritance. Men found that the purely ascetic life was a special vocation, and that for the average man the divine

The Re-
naissance.

purpose was a life of happiness here in this present world. From this recovered vantage ground it became possible and increasingly popular to find pleasure in the study of the past. The science of history had begun. It is well to remember also that these ideals of the Renaissance never ran to seed in England during the period. We were in the fortunate position of taking over as it were a new view of life separated from the immediate forces which produced it. This is always an advantage. It broadens conceptions and encourages healthy criticism. Any new movement in life is more easily studied and more beneficially assimilated by a people when they are not within it, when they can approach it from without, apart from anything of themselves in its origin. This is what happened to the Renaissance. Elsewhere the conditions of society and religion were so bad that the new forces flung life into the opposite extreme. Renaissance Italy presents a picture of unbridled indulgence. Christianity practically speaking disappeared before a new paganism. Great as our corruptions were, they had not sunk us so low as to render us incapable of restraint. When this is placed side by side with the divine ideal of the value of the individual and his responsibility in the eyes of God which the religious Reformation had recovered, it will be clear that healthy criticism and personal duty did much to save us from the madness of extremes. Our early reformers saw clearly that the humanism of the Renaissance was only part of the divine gift, and that it required responsibility and consecration to prevent it degenerating into something much worse than mediævalism. It necessitated a reformed church,

the throwing over of mechanical formalism, and the wedding together once more of creed and character. The early attempts to reconstruct the system had failed because they did not go deep enough. All the forces of nationalism, culture, learning and morality combined to produce the movement which was to go to the very root of the Church's decay. It is impossible to isolate an event or an individual and to say that either produced the movement. No one can read the literature of the fifteenth century nor honestly study the monastic decay without being convinced that Henry's divorce and the New Learning only brought more quickly to the front the reform which the best Englishmen for years before had seen was inevitable and necessary. It was the culmination of a long series of events, and Henry, Cranmer and the rest were merely figures who for a time filled the leading parts. In one scene they direct the movement and command attention, in another they obscure the issues and complicate the plot, but they were not the Reformation itself.

Perhaps the most important force at work was the mistrust in the papacy. Theories of civil government applied to a spiritual body are always disastrous, and the mediæval theory that all jurisdiction and ecclesiastical authority flowed out from the See of Rome produced such a rigid system of Church government that the individual tended more and more to degenerate into an insignificant part of a vast and ruthless machine. Many clergy combined the offices of Church and State in their own person. Thus the more learned were out of touch with the people and the parochial clergy were not as a rule of sufficient moral and intellectual calibre to

The Church
and the
individual.

command respect, or to assert a beneficial influence over their parishioners. The laity were slowly becoming the slaves of an ecclesiastical tyranny. With the first light of the Renaissance the ideal changes. Individual freedom re-appears as having a perfectly logical place in the corporate life of the Church. Neither must be sacrificed. The balance must be held true if the Church is to be loyal to the divine purpose set before her. The recovery of this ideal could leave no part of the Church the same. Indeed no great moral upheaval can pass over a nation and leave it unaffected. The danger lay not in the ideal, but in the influence of nationality and local circumstance upon it. Hence freedom and liberty of thought degenerated and produced schism in Germany and Switzerland. In the Churches faithful to Rome, the recovered ideal disappeared in the reaction which bound them closer than ever to the papal theory of jurisdiction and to more elaborate definitions. In England, after fluctuations and struggles, the Church attempted to combine the divine antithesis—the freedom of the individual within the laws and limitations of the divine society. To realize this the conservative and unbending papacy had to be abandoned, because the papacy stood for the body at the expense of the single soul. The refusal to be led aside by Protestantism and Separatism was equally necessary because neither preserved in any historical degree the corporate life of the Church. This attempt on the part of the English Church was justified by Scripture and tradition. Communion with the See of Rome was no historic test of catholicity and the mission of the Church was primarily the redemption of the

individual through the body. Equally clear was the place of the corporate life in the divine economy. With Rome lies the break in the outward unity, and with Protestantism English Nonconformity. On the other hand it is true that for many years the normal attitude of the English Church towards the Church of Rome was offensive, vindictive and unjust. It is also true that the ideal was pressed by severe penal laws to which the Church lent her support and thus made it easier for the weaker brethren to break away from her in righteous disgust. These are part of the earthly failings—the tares in the wheat. But the ideal is the important thing—an attempt to hold the balance between mediævalism and Protestantism. This does not imply any compromise. The apostolic and traditional church required discipline within the sphere of definite revelation and allowed freedom to the individual where revelation was silent, and as long as that freedom did not endanger “the faith once for all delivered to the saints.” This is the key to the whole Reformation movement in England. It was an attempt not so much to eliminate either of these two opposing forces as to acquire revealed truth which of necessity included the half-truths which each possessed. Anglicanism is, therefore, no *via media*, if by that is meant a judicious blend of Rome and Geneva and elsewhere. It is only a middle way, because opposing extremes made it so by progressing on each side of the truth. The system earliest connected with Parker’s administration was an attempt to recover the old path: it became a *via media* to Rome as she gazed across at Protestantism, and to Protestantism as it gazed across at Rome.

The
Via Media

**Personal
religion.**

In this connexion a great truth reappeared. With the placing of the individual in his proper relationship to the Church, there arose the question of his proper relation to God. The necessity for personal religion was revived. This was natural when laws and rules and rites and ceremonies were being sifted and questioned. Motives and intentions could not escape. The Reformation brought back the truths of each soul's personal responsibility to God and the necessity of personal service. However much these truths had been obscured by emphasizing them at the expense of the objective, or by the refusal to recognise any laws as binding on the Christian conscience, they were the greatest gifts that the Teutonic race has given to the Church, for they were a whole-hearted protest against hypocrisy. Religion was no longer to consist in so much outward ceremonial, or in frequenting churches on certain seasons, neither of which gave any guarantee of truth and sincerity. The failure lay in the fact that gradually outward observances had become the end in place of the means to the end. The Reformation called men back to question themselves, and to see how far their lives were consistent with their profession. But because it did this in such an emphatic degree, there was a danger lest valuable externals should be destroyed and the use of outside aids in Christian life and worship tend to disappear. Nor did England escape this danger; and this fact lends such a melancholy interest to Elizabeth's reign.

Unfortunately it has been these dangers—licence, individualism, iconoclasm, and a purely "spiritual" worship—which have been taken too often to represent the Reformation. The theories of extreme

reformers have in many places assumed an importance quite out of proportion, and the truth which they have obscured has been overlooked or lost. There has always been a tendency to erect this transitional and tentative period in our Church's history into one of permanence and finality. The best method of recovery seems to be along the lines of history. The English Church never lost her discipline and apostolic ministry, never abandoned in her worship the use of externals, nor left her children destitute of the sacramental life. Everything essential and *de fide* was maintained unimpaired through all the attacks from without and the apostasy and betrayal from within. These facts are the true answer to any attempt to transform the extreme into the normal. The Church stands, not because of Henry, Cranmer, Ridley, Parker or Queen Elizabeth, but because (often in spite of them) truth has a home within her, and because neither in her national synods nor later by general acceptance did she raise the abuse of a truth into the place of truth. Although for many years her catholicity was often obscured and her strength wasted on unimportant details, yet the only way to judge the Reformation is not to ask what this reformer or that monarch desired, but to contemplate the issue which stands clear in the later centuries. It is not necessary, therefore, to go into the details of the movement, accentuated as they are by the personal influence and opinions of individuals. These side issues can be read in any party book of Reformation history, and they will be considered somewhat on the eve of Parker's consecration.

The
English
Church.

Something, however, must be said on the more immediate subject of Henry VIII and Edward VI's

The Church
under
Henry VIII.

reigns, as the question will arise how far they influenced Parker and helped to form his opinions and character. Henry's reign was to a large extent conservative. The outstanding feature of the latter part was the question of jurisdiction. Speaking broadly, there was no change in doctrine. Earlier the Oxford reformers had sounded a note of warning to the Church, and those at Cambridge, to whom a fuller reference must be made later, owing to their connexion with Parker, had advanced to a bolder denunciation of abuses. Much of this was before the break with Rome. Thus men's minds were turned early in the reign in a critical direction, and many gave themselves to the study of the deeper questions of theology and morals long before Henry became uneasy about his marriage. Also it cannot be too often repeated that when that break occurred no one, broadly speaking, considered it anything uncatholic to cast off the papal jurisdiction. It was merely the culmination of a long series of national protests against foreign interference. No new system was created. It restored to the throne what it had previously claimed. Henry reasserted—in a somewhat emphatic and exaggerated manner it is true—what his predecessors regarded as their rights. The style, "supreme head," was the most novel part of his ecclesiastical policy. We look back and find it something to be regretted. It is only regrettable because of the bitterness which after years have produced. Henry to a large extent carried the English nation with him. He has been well described as summing up in himself the characteristics of the average Englishman. He was head of the Church not merely from the legal and historic

"Supreme
Head."

point of view, but as representing in himself the national mind. He was thus able to control the extremists on both sides, and to hold the nation in a compatible compromise. Because he stood for the unity of the people, the State in his person became the rallying point of opposing religious forces. To break into personal revolt became treason to the kingdom and the throne. It was, however, unfortunate that the relation of the sovereign to the Church should have become prominent under a Tudor king and under such a dangerous name. Even when that name was abandoned by Elizabeth for that of Supreme Governor, it left behind some bad traditions and unjustifiable precedents. It is necessary to remember the characteristics of the Tudors and that the State frequently suffered as much as the Church from their unconstitutional government. But the main point is that, however unjustly any of them treated the Church, the Church only accepted their headship or governorship in so far as it was consistent with the law of Christ and lent no official sanction to its abuse. Least of all did the Church know anything of the supremacy of Parliament. Elizabeth was not slow to inform that body that it must not interfere uninvited by her with the established religion. But when all these things are taken into consideration, it cannot be overlooked that this emphasizing of the historic headship of the sovereign did as much as anything else to hold the Church together. From the purely ecclesiastical point of view it was far from the best. But this aspect must not be allowed to obscure the close relationship which existed at the time between Church and nation. The reassertion of the historic

claim helped to save the situation. Elizabeth was able to gather round her throne the greater part of her people because she restored in her person the Henrician ideal. The reign of Edward VI was passed over because the nation never was embodied in the oppressive Privy Council, and there could be no hope of unity in a policy which was precipitated by the greed of men and had succeeded in dividing the people into two extreme and bitter factions. The Marian reaction was destined equally to have little lasting influence on the English Church. Not merely because the extreme of the papacy was largely unwelcome, but because it left behind it memories of humiliating civil government and insulted the nation by the yoke of Spain. The action of the state under both Edward VI and Mary helped as much as any theological reasons to build up the Anglican position. Elizabeth took up the traditions of Henry VIII, and personified in her person the *via media*. There were difficulties, but it was well that there should be some centre of national unity. There was no compromise, no betrayal of truth. Because national unity lay in the person of the sovereign, it never in any way committed the Church to a false position. It was an accident of the time that as the throne carried with it the great central party of the people, so that loyalty helped to consolidate the Church. Thus the Royal Supremacy tended for a time at least to control the individualistic element which was strong in its new-found youth and liable to become too assertive and undisciplined for the welfare of the corporate body. There occurs a parallel in Roman history where the Emperors succeeded in giving the state a religious unity by

embodying in their own persons the imperial idea and lending it a religious setting at a time when different beliefs abounded in the Empire. Although the parallel is somewhat strained and the circumstances far from corresponding, yet it helps to illustrate the policy of Henry and Elizabeth. This is merely a broad outline in which an attempt is made to trace out another line of thought than that which the Royal Supremacy usually suggests. And these facts must be kept clearly and prominently in view, otherwise the whole position will become distorted and the history of the period be approached with a bias. At times it is difficult to follow them, amid the storm and strife of party conflicts, or the unprincipled methods of the reigning sovereign. But as long as the principles involved are not forgotten nor the facts distorted, then it is safe to enter into the maze of Reformation history. It was because Parker had seen so much that he learned wisdom towards the Crown and his work was in some degree facilitated because Elizabeth herself had profited by the mistakes of her predecessors. She was careful to explain to her subjects that her claim was "under God to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within these her realms, dominions, and countries of what estate either ecclesiastical or temporal so ever they be so as no foreign power shall have any superiority over them." It was the historic right "of ancient time due to the Imperial Crown of this realm," of which the papacy was by no means ignorant in its previous dealing with the English Church.

The outstanding characteristics of Edward VI's reign left a large mark on Parker's future administration. Perhaps the most prominent fact is that

The
Church
under
Edward VI.

the struggle passes from jurisdiction to the Holy Eucharist. Here it parted company with primitive tradition. It is almost inconceivable that each reformer had a definition of the Real Presence, of the Sacrifice, or of the Holy Communion, which were as unapostolic as those of the Lateran Councils. Here it was that a side issue helped to divert the Edwardine Reformation from broad principles, and led it into the dangerous bypaths of over definition which had done much to produce the mediæval decay. Indeed it may be said that the Lateran definitions are as good—as definitions—as those of the reformers. Parker's appeal was always to the Early Church and the Fathers and no one knew better than he did the evils attendant on definitions and that the Primitive Church is silent upon many matters which the reformers attempted to explain. The Fathers here and there convey an idea of the mysteries of the altar, but none of them ever attempted to make their theories binding on the consciences of the faithful. Elizabeth's protest to the Spanish Ambassador, that she believed that God was in the Sacrament of the Eucharist at least represents the attitude taken by Parker and herself, for both had seen the bitter days of Edward and Mary in which Sacramental doctrine loomed so large and Sacramental definitions emphasized the persecutions. Again, the wholesale destruction and desecration of Church property during the "great pillage" had caused irreverence and antinomianism. It had lowered religion in the eyes of the people and established a tradition of individualism in worship. These lessons figure in Elizabeth's reign. Equally so the policy of delay and the large measure of kindness extended to

the extremists, at any rate during her early years, can be traced to the experience gained from the happenings under Edward and Mary.

Of Mary's reign little need be said, but if it taught her successors nothing more than that persecution was destined to defeat its ends it fulfilled a purpose. But it did more. It cleared the air somewhat of theories and opened the way for truth. It led men to think, and to reason out their position. In fact it may be said to have largely produced religious thought, for in the final analysis men were stirred to healthy criticism when there lay before them the possibility of imprisonment or death. Mary's persecution thus tended to eliminate for a time at least the religious experimentalist of the previous reign, and though it happily failed in its immediate purpose it served an end in creating an atmosphere of debate and questioning. It laid the foundation of that hostile attitude towards over-definition and rigid formality which has never since disappeared from England. The works of Jewel, Hooker, Laud and Andrewes owe no small debt to the Marian reaction. Indeed Parker's mental balance and clear-sightedness were developed and strengthened in his forced retirement during Mary's reign. His own misfortunes helped to broaden his view of religion and to make him tolerant of others in so far as was consistent with the essential life and government of the Church.

One other fact must be remembered in studying the life of any post-Reformation bishop. Before the break with Rome a diocesan bishop possessed a freer hand. To a large extent he controlled the ceremonial, and regulated the moral discipline of his diocese. A diocese in a small degree was a

The
Church
under
Mary.

The Re-
formation
affects the
episcopate.

local church. With the Reformation this all changes. The ideal of uniformity in worship, which is a purely Reformation one, shifted the centre of authority from the diocesan bishop to the provincial synod. He became more and more bound in all matters by the corporate action of the local church. His limitations were more pronounced than before. Complications set in when the State thought it advisable to support the new ideal by statute law. The tendency was to obscure the Church's place in her own government and to subordinate her inherent authority to the State. This was almost inevitable. In an age of national vigour and energy it frequently happens that the civil power overshadows the spiritual power, especially when the former is exercised by sovereigns of the Tudor type. Indeed it is questionable whether the novel idea of the Reformation would have survived as long as it did apart from its adoption by the State. And we must not be surprised to find the episcopate often relying on the civil arm, because as often as not opposition to the Church was intimately connected with treason to the throne. It is well to remember that, after and during Parker's primacy, Church and State were, broadly speaking, allied in a common cause.

[AUTHORITIES :—The general history must be read in the works of Strype, Burnet, Dixon, and in the *History of the English Church* (Edited by Stephens and Hunt.) Much ecclesiastical history in the State Papers. For the earlier movement see the works of More, Erasmus, and Colet and Seebohm's *Oxford Reformers*. Special information is in Bishop Collins' *English Reformation*, and in Creighton's *Royal Supremacy*, *Wolsey*, *Queen Elizabeth*, and *Age of Elizabeth*.]

CHAPTER II

BOYHOOD, 1504-1521

THE boyhood of Matthew Parker is to a large extent unknown to us. Although the larger and more important details are forthcoming, yet the more intimate early influences which helped to form his character and direct his thought have not been recorded. No record remains at Norwich of these impressionable years. He passed through youth like the ordinary English boy, to whose early years fame alone lends interest.

He was born on the 6th August, 1504, in the parish of S. Saviour, Norwich, where within recent years his memory has been honoured by a memorial tablet. His father was William Parker, a free citizen and arms-bearing gentleman who is said to have been a calenderer of stuffs by trade. This, however, rests on the slender evidence of an anonymous opponent, and in his will¹ he calls himself a worsted weaver. The family traced its descent from Nicholas Parker—William Parker's grandfather—who was principal registrar and keeper of records to Archbishop Stafford from 1450 to 1483. How the family came to settle in Norwich does not appear, nor has it been possible to trace it further back. John, the Archbishop's son and heir, during an heraldic visitation of Kent in Elizabeth's reign began his pedigree with Nicholas. It is certain, however, that under William it held an honourable position in the city and acquired

**Birth and
Family.**

¹ See Parker's will, p. 287.

considerable property in the parish of S. Clement's. More than that cannot be said. Attempts to connect the family with the early reformers are built on the slightest foundations and no weight must be attached to them. There is no evidence that any of the family came in direct contact with the new religious movement until Parker himself went to Cambridge. Parker's father died when he was about twelve years old, and left his wife and family in comfortable circumstances. His mother, who survived to 1553, was Alice Monins, a descendant of an ancient East Anglian family. No personal record has survived. Within a few years after her husband's death, she married again, her second husband being John Baker, and her son by this marriage was one of the witnesses of his half-brother's consecration. Of Matthew's two younger brothers, Botolph took Holy Orders and Thomas became Sheriff of Norwich at the time when his elder brother was Archbishop of Canterbury. Such are the slender details of his family life. We are left to guess the home influences. It is rather strange that Parker recorded nothing of his father and mother beyond the mere mention of their names, and that he reserved the one tender touch in his journal for his schoolmaster. However, in later years he gave an annual sum to the clerk of S. Clement's parish church to keep his parents' tomb in repair, and remembered the poor of his native city by generous gifts. This tomb is still cared for by his college, which also sends a preacher on his foundation every Ascension Day.

Education.

Of his education little record remains. From his own account we learn that he had several tutors, "in the parish of S. Clement's, near Fyebridge gates,"

among whom was Bains, the rector, and "William Neve, an easy and kind schoolmaster." His singing masters were Love and Manthorpe, whom he remembers ever afterwards as "severe teachers." Neve, however, did not belong to the staff of the school where Parker is said to have been educated, but was a home-tutor who "instructed him in the elements of grammar as the custom was then in the city within his own house till he was XVIII years of age." It was usual in England at this time for the sons of the better classes to have private tutors, a class of boy friends being sometimes formed.

Parker's youth coincided with the age of Wolsey, and most of the outstanding features must have left an impression on a young man looking forward to Holy Orders. English religion already shared in the common decline. Nothing could be more remarkable than the growing decay of the chantry priest and the monastery, and the waning influence of the Church as a vital force. Worse than all, the downward movement was going on beneath a more gorgeous veneer than ever before. Lack of serious purpose was veiled under an elaborate outward appearance of vitality. At the same time, religious benefactors were transferring their charity from the endowment of religious and monastic houses to collegiate and educational foundations. The best men saw that the older ideals were worn out and had served their purpose. The new thought and the larger life required a different setting.

These years, however, present a greater interest than the merely negative one of latent discontent or tentative reform. They were the springtime of national and religious independence. A people had

Chief
Movements
during his
youth.
(i) Reli-
gious.

(ii) Li-
berty.

begun to burn their boats. As yet they did not see clearly any security in the future, and the possibility of any serious break with the past was at first confined to those in close contact with the new spirit. The vast majority of the nation still remained true to the old system. It is no exaggeration to say that superstition continued to hold a considerable sway, and that the religious language of the average man was more gross and materialistic than in any previous age. All this told against the hopes of Erasmus, Colet, and More that the Church would be reformed along conservative lines. The wider outlook in every sphere of human activity demanded a clean sweep of the wonder-working appendages of religion and a return to the purer ages of faith.

(iii) Ecclesiastical Courts and clergy.

In addition, graver matters emphasized this necessity. The whole system of the ecclesiastical courts had degenerated into painful inefficiency. Moral offences, which came largely within their jurisdiction remained to a large extent unpunished. The courts had ceased to be a terror to the evil doer. Bribery and corruption had eaten the heart out of the judicial system of the Church. Graver still was the state of clerical life, presenting as it did a violent contrast to the language of creed and the practical demand of the sacramental life. Clergy and people alike were too far alienated from reality for any recovery along mediæval lines. Attempts at reform had come too late. A vast and far-reaching upheaval was the only way of recovery. This upheaval did not, of course, ever carry with it the entire people. The conservatives of the earlier years of Henry VIII's reign developed into the supporters of the counter-Reformation. The Oxford reformers were the parents

of Elizabethan Anglicanism. But the later sectarians trace their origin to the few extremists who derived their theories from the uncompromising Protestantism of the Continent, a system as illogical and unbearable as the mediævalism whose place it sought to supply.

(iv) Foreign Policy.

Other forces helped to complicate the situation. Under the guiding hand of Wolsey—our first great foreign minister—England was assuming an important place in European politics. He was laying the foundations of our foreign policy. We were henceforth a power to be considered in the affairs of nations. This naturally helped to increase our national pride and to make it more difficult for Wolsey's efforts to preserve the old régime by education and clerical reform reaching a successful issue. As politics more than anything else had helped to degrade the Church in the past, so in bitter irony they helped to make her recovery and purification a hundredfold more difficult.

It may be that Parker was too young to realise all that was going on. But he must have known something of Wolsey, who visited Norwich several times during his boyhood. He cannot fail to have heard some discussions about him and his policy. Nor can the changed social conditions have escaped his notice, especially as his family was connected with the great woollen industry. The old guild system was breaking up, and new towns were springing into existence outside the limitations of guild rules and restrictions. The common fellowship of work and the benefits of co-operation were giving place to the evils of competition. Rivalry was no longer the healthy incentive to produce the very best. It was passing into the bitter greed for gain. Work

(v) Social Change.

was a means to wealth and position, not an end in itself. Its justification ceased to be inherent.

Thus Parker passed to the University loyal to the old traditions. But behind that loyalty must have lain the knowledge that men were no longer accepting them with blind confidence. It is unlikely that his early teachers, always conservative, told him anything of the New Learning, either in relation to the intellect or the heart. On the other hand, it can hardly have been possible for him to have escaped some idea of the growing movements around him. He may, like the large majority of his neighbours, have treated them unconsciously enough as unworthy of the notice of a loyal son of the Church for whose service he was destined. But when he came into close and vital contact with them at Cambridge he must have looked back and tried to recall all that he had heard and seen. He cannot have been unprepared when he found himself face to face with puzzling and searching problems.

[AUTHORITIES.—Strype, *Parker*. William Parker's will is in *The Spirling Register*, f. 213, I have printed it in Appendix I. Some account of Parker's early life is in *Life of 70 Archbishops* (Brit. Mus. G. 11985), and in Blomefield's *History of Norfolk* (1806). His short journal is printed in Strype and in Parker, *Correspondence*. For Wolsey's policy see Creighton and *Dict. Nat. Biog.*].

CHAPTER III

CAMBRIDGE, 1521-1535

PARKER was sent to Cambridge early in September, 1521, and was educated "partly at S. Mary's Hostel, and partly at Corpus Christi College." S. Mary's Hostel, at this time an appendage of the College, where he resided during his first winter, was part of the gift of the Guild of S. Mary to the Guild of Corpus Christi when these two guilds endowed a scholastic foundation in the fourteenth century. His tutor was Robert Cowper (afterwards chaplain to Edward VI) whom he describes as "a master of arts but of small learning." In 1522 he was admitted to a Bible clerkship and took up his residence in the College there under the mastership of William Sowode whom Foxe calls "a great favourer and fatherer of the truth in the dark days of King Henry VIII." This may account for the large number of young reformers then at Corpus, where under a sympathetic master it was easier to criticise the prevailing theological position. After a course in "dialectics and philosophy," Parker was admitted Bachelor of Arts in 1524. In 1527 he was ordained deacon and priest and in the same year elected to a fellowship. It was about this time that Wolsey invited him to join the new foundation of Cardinal College, Oxford. This invitation, however, was refused, and for some years he devoted himself to Scriptural and Patristic study, "going through all the orthodox fathers and

Joins
Corpus
Christi
College,
Camb.

decrees of all the councils." He was thus able, not only to weigh the opinions and theories of his contemporaries, but during his primacy to form a just opinion of the returned Marian exiles.

During these years of Parker's life at Cambridge University activity had shifted from a struggle between the old and new intellectual ideals, to the more fascinating, if more dangerous interest of a religious struggle. This interest was inspired largely by Erasmus, who had been Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity from 1511 to 1514. His wealth of learning, his appeal to the understanding, his keen historical criticism encouraged and stimulated those Cambridge students whose inclinations lay in the direction of inquiry and investigation. But besides this, Peter de Valance at Cambridge and Luther at Wittenburg had openly defied the papal system of indulgences by which the poor and credulous were led to replenish the empty coffers of extravagant popes. Bishop Fisher, the Chancellor, failed to bring home to the Cambridge student the heinousness of his offence, and in the eyes of a considerable number of Englishmen the University became identified with the ultra-reformers of the Continent. Perhaps the most prominent of the Cambridge Reformers was Thomas Bilney, a scholar of Trinity Hall. It must at once be conceded that he was an enthusiast with a rather melancholy habit of introspection. But there was a certain charm and sincerity about his character which sweetened the sterner side of Lutheranism in so far as he embraced it, and gave him considerable influence in attaching others to his cause, prominently Robert Barnes, Prior of the Augustinian friars at Cambridge, and George Stafford, fellow of

The
Cambridge
Reformers.

Peterhouse. These two characterized the break with mediævalism by publicly lecturing on the Scriptures to large and enthusiastic audiences.

Owing to its commercial connexion with Germany East Anglia had soon become familiar with the tenets and works of Luther, and the audiences which attended the disquisitions of the Cambridge reformers were largely drawn from those who had already had some knowledge of Lutheranism. Indeed so strong was the movement that the wholesale burning of Luther's books at Cambridge after their condemnation at London in 1521 only served to increase his students and to strengthen the religious revolt. It succeeded, however, in making secrecy and a certain amount of diplomacy necessary. The White Horse Inn became the central meeting place of the reformers, and before long it was an open secret in the University that the object of their meetings was to study Luther's writings. Hence the White Horse Inn became known as "Germany" and the enthusiasts as "Germans." As time went on, curiosity gave place to genuine interest and the numbers began to increase. Barnes was the nominal president, but there can be no doubt that Bilney formed the central attraction, which brought together some of the most learned men and many others destined to fame of one sort or another. Among these latter was Parker, who came to the debates better equipped than many of his fellows. By this time he possessed a considerable knowledge of early church history, and the keenness of the meetings did not succeed in turning him aside from the pursuit of historical and patristic learning. Indeed, when not a few became whole-hearted converts to Lutheranism

The White
Horse Inn.

**Parker's
attitude.**

and accepted it in all its details, Parker's reading and study enabled him to steer safely across the dangerous waters of revolt. He had learned to support his criticism with judgment and to use common sense in his treatment of a man and system which were too rapidly becoming objects of blind reverence. However, it was from the White Horse Inn that the first sound of a newer theology was heard. Obscured though it was by the bias of Luther and his enthusiastic admirers, it was welcome after the mental gymnastics of scholasticism. And if S. Paul's doctrine was somewhat distorted after passing through the German crucible, at the same time men learned something which they had not known before—something which placed Christianity in a fresh position, making stern demands on the will and conscience. The path to God, difficult as it must always be, appeared comparatively easy when it was cleared of the thorns and brambles of definitions and mediæval details. The Cambridge reformers began to shew men that salvation did not lie along the lines of formal logic. It is true that in clearing the path and in attacking scholasticism, they often succeeded in leaving behind them pickaxes and spades and all the appendages of assault, which in their turn proved no small objects to surmount. But they were pioneers, and, generally speaking, their mistakes were those of enthusiasts who wished to press home the attack on the most vulnerable points of popular religious teaching.

For some time Wolsey left this band of men alone. But, unfortunately, an inflammatory sermon by Barnes at Christmas, 1525, forced him to take action. His natural hatred of anything Lutheran, which he

had kept in hand for some purpose not now clear, burst out in hot indignation. The pulpit scorn of a turn-coat friar could not be directed with impunity against the strongest man in England. A commission was therefore at once despatched to Cambridge to collect Lutheran books and bring Barnes to London. Through underhand information many of the reformers were deprived of their small but valuable libraries, and Barnes was conveyed to London and imprisoned. A new recruit soon filled his place. Through Bilney's influence Hugh Latimer joined the Reforming party. Bilney, Latimer, and Parker were at this period close friends. And in an age of strong passions, emphasized so easily by the smallest of theological differences, these friendships are noteworthy testimony to sincerity in a common cause. When Parker was further removed than ever from their doctrinal standpoint, and was becoming more and more a disciple of the primitive Church, he was united in terms of close intimacy with those who were gradually accepting German theology as interpreted by Tyndall, or clinging to a residue of the papal system.

Cambridge
friendships.

Nothing need be said here of Latimer, but before leaving the Cambridge reformers, Bilney requires a further notice. Like Parker he was a Norfolk man, and their acquaintance soon ripened into "an enthusiastic affection." His theological position may be fairly summed up as that of a moderate reformer. He never broke away like Latimer from the main body of mediævalism, and according to Foxe he remained in supreme darkness regarding transubstantiation, the Sacrifice of the Mass, and the papal authority. His martyrdom was more

Thomas
Bilney.

on account of indiscriminate preaching than for any serious doctrinal failings. The strange thing is that a man of such religious refinement should have been the product of an age of strife and bitterness. He was a contemplative and a man of prayer more than a fiery zealot. Music distracted him and he found Thirlby's recorder in the rooms underneath his own a source of much annoyance. His death is one of the blackest stains on a black reign. He was accused of heresy in 1527, when he abjured. He remained however in prison two years. On his return to Cambridge he never ceased to regret his abjuration, and one night in Trinity Hall he told his friends that "he must needs go to Jerusalem." Leaving the College he went and preached throughout Norfolk, denouncing many abuses and calling the people to repentance. In August, 1531, he was condemned as a relapsed heretic. Parker travelled to Norwich to be present at his burning, and defended his friend against More's charge that he had recanted at the stake. A friendship such as that between Parker and Bilney is one of the strange products which seem to characterize religious movements. In its intensity and terms of endearment it has something of its modern counterpart in the close friendships of the Oxford Tractarians. And there can be no doubt that it was through Bilney and his followers that Parker was led to examine his religious position. His scholarship made him go further than Bilney and not so far as Latimer and some of the rest. But the common aim to recover some measure of truth and liberty was kept clear amid personal differences and was always strong enough to maintain friendships founded on mutual regard and respect.

Too much has often been made of the influences of these University friendships on Parker's thought and future policy. On the other hand, they have too frequently been passed over as unimportant. Their real value from the historical point of view lies in the fact that they largely helped to direct Parker's study. As he read the history of the primitive Church and the early fathers he must naturally have been forced to contrast mediævalism, Protestantism and moderate reform. Surrounded as he was by these opposing influences, his study must have been along the lines of historic investigation. To trace what was apostolic and catholic and to clear it from accretions must have appealed to a man by nature a student, brought up in mediævalism and bound by ties of friendship to those who were more or less breaking away from it. This seems to be the just and historic place to assign the Cambridge Reformers in his life. For Parker's acceptance of Anglicanism was the act of no hotheaded enthusiast, no unbalanced revolutionary; it was a slow progress through painstaking and honest inquiry. Wild attacks on Rome and the papacy, supported by an illogical and unhistorical use of Holy Scripture or Church history, found no support from him. He despised the continental zealot who rode roughshod over everything sacred in tradition in order that he might erect his own peculiar form of belief into the one revelation of God, as much as he despised his papal opponent who sought to demolish his enemy by sonorous sounding phrases from papal decrees, or to win him by threats of eternal death apart from the Vicar of Christ. Parker appealed always not to what some pope said or some reformer had written.

The
Reformers'
Influence
on Parker.

but to historic facts. The meetings at the White Horse Inn were therefore finger posts in his intellectual journeyings. They pointed out to him problems for investigation and lent his studies aim and direction. He was far from a controversialist by nature, and it is no exaggeration to say that controversy was not the object of his reading. This may account for the fact that we have no record during these early years of his entering into any public dispute. Learning had for him primarily its own exceeding great reward, and he used to establish his position only when some principle was at stake or when men laid more emphasis on some religious accessory than was warranted by history or tradition.

**Parker
apart from
contro-
versy.**

Nothing distinguishes Parker more from his contemporaries than this. There is scarcely an outstanding name among the reformers which is not connected with some bitter dispute. No age possesses a more voluminous controversial literature and one in which proportion and tolerance are more singularly wanting. Men were swept along by the passion of the moment and rushed into print at the smallest provocation. They were not clear-headed enough to see that they were the victims of their own blind enthusiasm. They were not perhaps consciously biased nor wilful distorters of history to their own ends. One cannot but be struck with the evident honesty of their writings. But honesty is not learning, nor enthusiasm truth, and it is unfortunately possible to be deceived by downright zeal, especially in questions of faith and religion. When deep problems such as these demand treatment, it seems as if it were almost impossible for men to hold the

balance true, and to eliminate personal prejudices. Few of the reformers brought to their task minds trained in accurate study, and sufficiently disciplined to enable them without bias to manipulate what was often a considerable weight of learning. Indeed it is no exaggeration to say that the vast majority of them acquired that learning in a partizan spirit. They read into the past their own pet theories. They studied the fathers and Church history, not at first hand, but as it were in text-books edited by themselves. Worse than all, the prominent question of moral reform disappeared. For many years the reformers defeated their own ends because men came to look on religion as a thing to be debated, not a life to be lived. The sorry state of morality during the period owes more to intellectual and academic controversy than to anything else. Creed and character were as far apart as ever before. Whatever may have been Parker's failings, the intellectual discipline of these Cambridge days enabled him to avoid the characteristic weakness of his age.

It is impossible to determine the influences which enabled him to remain clear-headed, and to detach debatable questions from the mass of prejudice which surrounded them. He seems to have been one of those students who naturally approach a subject with an open mind unmoved by the forces of criticism. And this was the more remarkable in an age which saw controversy made more fascinating by the widening of the intellectual outlook. Learning no longer moved along a narrow and most defined path wasting its energies on the fruitless nothingnesses of scholasticism. It was all the more difficult now to avoid being drawn into the surging torrent of argument

Method of
study.

and debate because of the broader views and the expansion of human knowledge. The charm of exercising the critical faculty was seldom more pronounced, and yet Parker seems to have seen that the dangers were greater because men were dealing no longer with unimportant problems which merely developed rhetorical smartness, but were criticising the deepest questions with which the human mind can deal,—questions which were so vital as to demand peculiar care and earnest study, and at the same time so fascinating as to overwhelm and hurry men to unconsidered conclusions. Everything was moving at a tremendous pace, and it required strong determination to hold a man back from hurriedly assuming an attitude without carefully analysing his reasons for doing so. Whatever other forces were brought to bear on Parker, he seems naturally to have held his hand, being satisfied to move slowly and accurately, hearing both sides and weighing them in the balance of history. While it is always a difficult task to eliminate personal predilections and to see things in the clear light of reason and truth, yet it is one of the prominent characteristics of greatness to be content to be schooled and disciplined, to learn one's intellectual limits, and to take every possible precaution to ensure a correct estimate of any great subject, upon which it is necessary for a thinking and honest man eventually to make up his mind. Parker's whole attitude towards the Cambridge reformers was the attitude of a man destined to be great. He sought their company and valued their friendship, but he was never drawn aside into undisciplined enthusiasm. He saw their strength and was strong-minded enough

to avoid their weakness. Thus his early years were free from extremes in action or thought. It was time enough for him to pronounce his opinion, and to take his stand, when time and knowledge had ripened his faculties and matured his judgment. He has left little behind in which bitter prejudice and distorted views predominate, nor is there any record that he approached any subject but in the spirit of honest enquiry. His attitude towards the debates in the White Horse Inn characterized him equally in the chair of S. Augustine. He never sought controversy, but when he found it forced upon him, he brought to it an open mind, a considerable body of accurate learning and the faculty of being able to see things in their proper proportion. It is well to emphasize this at the beginning of his career, because it will help us to understand in some degree his methods of guiding principles as archbishop.

Perhaps his greatest fame during these Cambridge days was as a popular preacher in and around Cambridge. None of these sermons are extant, so it is impossible to form any direct estimate of their learning or style. But it is possible to know that they must have followed the course of the Reformation movement, for in 1533 Cranmer licensed him as a preacher in the Southern province. The break with Rome was then complete so far at least as jurisdiction went, and we may be sure that Parker accepted with conviction the verdict of Convocation against the papal supremacy and fulfilled the royal command to preach against it. Without entering into the question of the justice or authority of the Royal Injunctions of 1536, as a licensed preacher, Parker must have accepted the theological position

**Parker as
a preacher.**

erected by the *Ten Articles* which they enforced on all preachers. The grounds of faith were there defined as the Bible, the Creeds, the four Councils, and patristic tradition not contrary to Scripture. Baptism, the Eucharist and Presence were laid down as necessary to salvation, and many things were approved though not necessary to salvation, such as Invocation and Purgatory, a proper use of images, rites and ceremonies. These articles were clearly a compromise between the Old and New Learning and may be said to give us a reliable idea of the subject matter of Parker's preaching. Indeed during the formulating of *The Institution of a Christian Man* by the bishops, he took an enthusiastic interest in the work, and gladly accepted it even though it contained a concession to the Old Learning by teaching the seven sacraments. As far as it is possible to dogmatize from negative evidence, it would seem clear that Parker followed the broad outlines of the movement and welcomed any attempts to control and regulate it.

Attached
for sermon.

He was accused by "certain men of no good judgment" before Lord Chancellor Audeley for preaching heresy and using disloyal language against Easter, relics and other details. Parker's answer to these charges form the most authentic evidence as to his style of preaching at this time. He was charged among other things with saying that the Easter procession was but a pageant or interlude and that the Cross of Christ was no holier than those on which the thieves died. He replied that the Easter Monday sermon was a defence of the true meaning of the Easter procession which testified "openly to the world that men would henceforth

follow Christ in their conversation," and that without a true belief in the mediation of Christ and a firm purpose to live the risen life, it became "a vain pageant whereof they had no profit." On Relic Sunday he exhorted his hearers to avoid credulity, and not "to put their trust and affiance in the holiness and virtue of men's bones and coats whereof we have no certainty whether they were the relics of the saints or no . . . to forget the mystery of Christ's Cross and fall to the worshipping of the tree of this Cross was a superstitious worship." His preaching was directed against ceremonies and customs which had lost their reality. In themselves helpful, they became snares when separated from the cardinal doctrines of the faith. His accusers were more personal enemies than conscientious objectors. Those of better learning thought there was no fault to be found in his sermons. "The Doctor hath ever been of good judgment and set forth the word of God after a good manner—for this he suffers grudge." Audley dismissed the charge bidding him to "go on and fear no such enemies." We may conclude from this incident that he was following along the lines of moderate reform in practice, and that he accepted the appeal to history and the fathers. He was ever ready, as he said, to justify his preaching "by Scripture and the testimony of the most approved authors of Christ's Church."

In addition to his popularity as a preacher he came into royal favour, and was appointed, reluctantly it is true, chaplain to Queen Anne Boleyn. This reluctance to accept a position which necessitated much public responsibility was very characteristic. During his entire life he would have preferred to

Chaplain
to Anne
Boleyn.

remain a student apart from the stern light of the Court and the severe demands of leadership and government. Indeed he shrank so much from the fame acquired by preaching that Latimer urged him "to shew himself to the world" by greater activity. There is one tender and interesting fact connected with this appointment. The Queen specially recommended to his care her daughter Elizabeth, and laid a strict charge on her to make a grateful return if occasion offered. Thus he left Cambridge and saw something of Court life. Perhaps he trained in some degree the early years of the woman under whom he was destined to fulfil the greatest purposes of his life. Unfortunately no records remain. It must not be forgotten that among his fellow students at Cambridge were Bacon and Cecil. Thus in his early manhood he came into contact with those who afterwards helped him in the difficult task of guiding the Church through the storm which he himself had seen gather and break. It is not often in history that four such persons are thus early connected, and find themselves called in different degrees to guide the destinies of a people through circumstances of almost unique difficulty.

[AUTHORITIES.—Strype, as before. For his college life see his journal *l.c.*, and his *De Antiquitate Ecclesiae Britannicae* (Ed. Drake, 1729), also Lamb's *History of Corpus Christi College* (1831). For the Cambridge Reformers see Foxe, and J. B. Mullinger, *History of Cambridge University*. For Bilney see *Dic. Nat. Biog.*, and Malden, *Trinity Hall* (College Hist. Series). For Parker's Sermon see *Henrician State Papers and Correspondence*, No. viii. The Royal Injunctions of 1536 and *The Ten Articles* are in Burnet.]

CHAPTER IV

STOKE-BY-CLARE AND CORPUS CHRISTI, CAMBRIDGE, 1535-1547

PARKER continued to grow in royal favour. At the close of 1535 he was presented by Queen Anne to the deanery of S. John the Baptist, Stoke-by-Clare, Suffolk, twenty miles from Cambridge. This was originally a benedictine house founded in the middle of the thirteenth century by Richard, Earl of Gloucester (from whom the Earls of March and the royal house of York were descended) as a priory and cell to the abbey of Bec-Herlouin in Normandy. Under Richard II, however, it was transferred to the church of S. Peter's, Westminster. Early in the fifteenth century, at the desire of Edmund, Earl of March, Pope John XXIII issued a decree turning the house from a priory of monks into a collegiate church of secular clergy subject to the ordinary of the place. At the same time all the priory lands were transferred to the new foundation. This change was ratified by Martin V and the first dean, Thomas Barnesley, drew up a set of sixty-nine statutes with papal and episcopal authority for the government and direction of the college. The house consisted of a dean, six secular canons, eight vicars, five choristers, four clerks, a music master and a porter.

Dean of
Stoke.

From these statutes it is possible to form a picture of the life into which Parker now entered. There was the usual round of daily services—Mattins,

The mode
of life.

Mass, the Lesser hours, Vespers and Compline, sung in plain-song according to the Sarum use. The day began early—the mattins bell was rung at 5 a.m., no one was to be in bed after half-past six,—it closed at curfew. To the clerks fell the duty of rendering an account of the goods, ringing the bells—the mass bell loud enough to be heard half-a-mile away—closing the gates, preparing the altars and ornaments for Divine Service. They were not allowed to sit at table with the canons, unless some stranger provided a feast at his own expense, who then could place his guests as he willed. The feast of S. Jerome was kept with special pomp, and every year a High Mass of Requiem was sung for the founder. The choristers were instructed by their master, not only in plain song and instrumental music, but in reading and good manners. They went to commons with the vicars and clerks, or in certain circumstances, with the Dean. A portion of the Bible was read during the meal. After Compline the gates were shut and no one was allowed to go out or enter. Hunting was prohibited, as it tended to debt, except to a canon with an adequate income. Hounds were not permitted in the college, the Dean, however, might keep four. Arms were forbidden, because they frequently led to disastrous quarrels. The duties of the Dean were considerable. He performed the office on all the principal and greater feasts. He had to see that the music was kept up to an efficient standard. He was responsible for making the canons keep the church, the ornaments and houses in repair, and the vicars the chancel. He had to provide within a year of his appointment a cope at the cost of £5, and a respectable dinner for the canons.

He inducted the new prebendaries, and assisted at the appointment of the various officers. He also had a wide discretion in altering the statutes, and in determining their scope and meaning. The vicars within a year of their appointment had each to present the vicars' hall with silver plate or an adequate sum of money to purchase it. Every vicar had eight weeks' holiday and every clerk six to visit their relations and friends. But the members were not wholly occupied within doors. The vicars had a garden which was to be carefully cultivated for the use of the college. There was fishing to be done, woods to be cared for, doves to be reared. No one however, was to resort to any tavern for amusement or conversation, nor to walk out alone in the towns or fields without one honest companion. Such were some of the principal regulations and duties when Parker took up the presidency of the college. Comparatively little is known of its history from the foundation to his appointment. Records remain of episcopal visitations in the early years of the sixteenth century. Financial administration seems always to have been lax and injudicious, and non-residence and plurality were frequent among the members. Perhaps the most interesting fact that has come down to us is the attempt made by Cardinal Wolsey during a visitation to dissolve the house on account of these administrative failings. This object, however, was defeated by prompt action on the part of Queen Catherine, who despatched a servant from London to take possession of the college. The right of presentation appears to have belonged to the wife of Henry VII, the lineal descendant of the Earls of March, and thus passed to the Queens of England.

How far the college had fallen from the moral ideals of its founder it is impossible to say, as no mention of moral delinquencies remain, but no more charming picture of clerical life could be imagined than that outlined in the statutes. The rule was sufficient to develop discipline and Christian character, and not severe enough to curtail intellectual progress or eliminate natural joy. It was sufficiently broad to appeal to Parker's temperament, combining as it did both sides of man's nature in the service of God. The office was specially agreeable to him because of the leisure and quietness it afforded for study.

Parker's
changes
and de-
fence of the
college.

But he was by no means occupied entirely in intellectual pursuits. In addition to seeing that the old statutes were kept he revised and added to them, in order that the foundation might justify its existence. He founded a grammar school to which a considerable number of the neighbouring children came for instruction in reading, singing, and music, the poorer being received free of charge. He provided for regular sermons by the canons, and for a weekly lecture in Scripture, at which all the residents must be present. He increased the number of choristers, and arranged that the most worthy, after their voices broke, should be supported for six years at some college in Cambridge. The carrying out of these plans, with study and preaching and the general work of governing the college occupied his time and energies. He also saw the college over a stormy period, when Henry VIII wished to dissolve it under the Act which granted all the collegiate churches to the King. He wrote a strong protest to the Queen, setting forth his efforts to improve the foundation. He was so interested in his work

that he was ready to resist the dissolution even though a considerable pension was offered to him. Besides, what advantage was it to destroy a house with such a small income, which could benefit the King to no extent, while the destruction would cause much practical harm. There would be no provision for the poor and needy tenants, regular instruction in God's word would cease, the loss of the grammar school would be most disastrous to the children, now that their education had begun, and where would her Grace's officers meet her tenants? Henry was so pleased with Parker's work and improvements at the college, and with his "honest and virtuous" using of the foundation, that "he clearly resolved to permit the same to remain undissolved." When the destruction of the religious houses was completed by Edward VI's Chantry Act the college was dissolved and passed into the hands of Parker's friend, Sir John Coke. After drawing up "a perfect inventory" of the rentals, possessions and income of the house, Parker resigned his deanery, and received a pension of £40 as being a man "above the common sort."

This was Parker's first experience in administration. His success soon drew the attention and approval of the King, who recommended him in 1544 to the fellows of his old college for the mastership rendered vacant by the death of Sowode as "our well beloved chaplain . . . a man as well for his approved learning, wisdom and honesty as for his singular grace and industry in bringing up youth in virtue and learning very hard to find the like." Not many months after his election as Master he was unanimously chosen Vice-chancellor of the University. Parker at once made himself felt. He found the

Master of
Corpus.

affairs of his "old nurse," as he affectionately called Corpus, in a far from satisfactory state. Little if any care was bestowed on the records, and the finances were not wisely controlled. He made his appeal to the fellows on the ground of their responsibility and the duty they owed to the trust reposed in them by the benefactors of the college. "What they had received from their ancestors, they should deliver in equally good condition to their posterity." New statutes were drawn up which were afterwards confirmed by Elizabeth. It was arranged that a new system of accounts should be adopted. Previously the bursar or those responsible for the finances kept records in their own private books alone, and when death or new appointments removed them it was difficult to arrive at any accurate idea of the state of affairs. Parker drew up an outline form which was to be followed each year, the college inventories became public to all the authorities and from henceforth were regularly inspected. The accounts were reduced to order, and provision was made for the annual presentation in detail of the receipts and expenditure, as well as a full statement of the possessions and rentals of the foundation. Special care was given to the library, which had fallen into a disgraceful condition. Special librarians were appointed to restore it to order. Many of the chained books had been wrongfully taken out of the library by private individuals and others were scattered about in disorder. In future, when the chains were restored at the expense of the college, this was to cease, and the new librarians became personally responsible for the preservation and direction of all the possessions. This library was

afterwards enriched by munificent gifts from Parker, whom Fuller calls "the sun of English antiquity before it was eclipsed by that of Sir Robert Cotton," and contains some of the most valuable manuscripts in England. Parker's love for Corpus was lifelong. Every care was taken to endow fellowships and scholarships, and to make the college the pride and envy of the University.

But Parker was soon called to much more difficult work than that of regulating the affairs of his college. He had to face the avarice of the King and courtiers. The Act for the dissolution of Colleges gave Henry power to reform all colleges, or change and use the same to his pleasure, and thus the University found itself in danger of being deprived of its possessions, or rendered completely powerless to fulfil its purpose. This danger arose from the greed of impecunious flatterers, who brought their influence to bear on the King, recommending him to appoint a commission to survey the lands and revenues of the University, in the hope that they would eventually reap advantages by judicious exchange of appropriated benefices. The University was alarmed, and Parker saw that the sequel would mean irreparable hurt to the cause of education, and strengthen the hands of the avaricious courtiers and spendthrift King, who had already established too many precedents for wholesale robbery, and were blind to the evil results so long as their own ends were advanced. Appeal was made to Smith and Cheke, old friends to Cambridge, and to the Queen—Katherine Parr. It was clear that things had gone too far to prevent the King appointing a commission of inquiry, and Parker therefore advised his friends

Defends
the
University.

in London to resort to tact. It was pointed out that the expense of sending a body of commissioners would be very great, and that the wisest course was to send a commission to certain men on the spot, who could be trusted to return an accurate account of the condition of the University. Such a commission would require no outlay on the part of the King. Smith and Cheke laid this scheme before Henry, and the Queen, while blaming the rather worldly tone of the appeal made to her, consented to lend it her support on the understanding that the University did not forget that all its possessions and zeal for learning were means "to the attaining and setting forth the better Christ's reverence and most sacred doctrine." Accordingly, Henry was persuaded to issue a commission to Parker, the Vice-Chancellor, Redman, Master of Trinity College, and William May, Master of Queen's College early in 1546. Henry carefully set out in detail and guarded his rights under the Act of Parliament, but concealed his ulterior purpose, as was his wont, by stating that he was actuated by a desire to advance God's honour and to increase good learning within his kingdom. He wished, therefore, these "men of notable virtue, learning and knowledge" to satisfy his desire and to furnish him with an account of the zeal for study within the University, and especially of the means provided for its support, and the methods employed in their distribution and use. Parker and his fellow commissioners were ordered to call before them the masters and heads of the colleges and other houses endowed with possessions within the University, to peruse their foundations, statutes and ordinances and by personal examination to find out how they were

fulfilled. The possessions of each college, their location and expenses, the names of the founders and benefactors were to be set forth in detail in a written statement by the visitors. At the conclusion of the visitation, Parker and May interviewed the King at Hampton Court and presented him with a summary of the results of their work. The King diligently read this, and "in a certain admiration said to certain of his lords which stood by that he thought he had not in this realm so many persons so honestly maintained in living by so little land and rent." Henry, however, was sharp enough to see that the colleges were deeply in debt—no less than fifteen of the foundations being in financial difficulties owing to "fines for leases and indentures to the farmers renewing their leases partly of wood sales." Parker has left us a graphic picture of their interview. Henry said to his lords "it was a pity these lands should be altered to make them worse (at which words some were grieved, for that they disappointed *lupos quosdam hiantes*). In fine we sued to the King's Majesty to be so gracious lord that he would favour us in the continuance of our possessions, such as they were, and that no man by his Grace's letters should require to permute with us to give us worse. He made answer and smiled that he could not but write for his servants and others, doing the service for the realm in wars and other affairs, but he said he would put us to our choice whether we should gratify them or no, and bade us hold our own, for after his writing he would force us no further, with which words we were well armed and so departed." We can well imagine the grim humour of the King, who seeing that there was not

much advantage at the time in robbing the University, could well enjoy the disappointment of his lords, and smile as he turned their hopes of gain into failure. The successful issue of Parker's effort gained him the respect and confidence of Cambridge and cemented a friendship which was not broken till the dark days of the Puritan revolt, when Cambridge made bitter his closing years by the favour bestowed upon the enemies of his authority and discipline.

Dispute
with
Gardiner.

However, Parker's Vice-chancellorship was not uniformly happy. He was unfortunately dragged into a controversy with Bishop Gardiner, the Chancellor, which destroyed a friendship never afterwards restored. It had become customary for the Universities to perform plays, and as a rule their performances were encouraged by the authorities. Among the most prominent playwrights at the time was Thomas Kirchmeyer, a foreign Calvinist, who had written a Latin tragedy of European fame named *Pammachius*, in which he poured merciless satire on the failures and abuses connected with the Church of Rome, and the Popes in particular. Pammachius is an imaginary Pope in the age of the Emperor Julian who, growing somewhat weary of the discipline and sameness of Christianity, begins to hold secret communications with the Sophists and the Evil one. In holy anger our Lord commands Satan to be loosed, and with Pammachius as generalissimo, he proceeds to overturn the work and results of Christianity. The Emperor is driven out through the Pope's aid, and the Church is left to the tender mercies of its traitorous head. So severe were the terms which Pammachius makes with the State power that Satan in high pleasure erects a noble trophy to the Pope.

Finally S. Paul and Holy Truth revisit the earth to carry on warfare against the foes of righteousness, and the issue is left undecided at the close of the play. Such a work left ample room for a whole series of detailed sneers at the papal system, and in a comparatively short time it became popular among the extreme Protestants on the Continent and was translated into English by the notorious John Bale. Unfortunately the students of Christ's College performed this play during Lent, 1545, and Cuthbert Scott, a strong papist, afterwards under Mary master of the College and Bishop of Chester, at once reported the matter to Bishop Gardiner, the Chancellor of the University. At this time England was suffering from a somewhat reactionary proceeding on the King's part. Henry had become impatient of the extremes advocated by the Lutheran party and had replied to their suggestions by seeing that those things which offended them most were established more firmly than ever by the brutal Statute of the Six Articles. While this act in no way touched the question of papal jurisdiction, it became a painful thorn in the side of the reformers, who found purely Roman doctrines and practices strengthened by a severe and bloodthirsty enactment. Gardiner, after the disgrace of Thomas Cromwell, had acquired the most powerful political influence in England, and was largely responsible for the new law. He was therefore naturally disturbed when this disconcerting news reached him from Cambridge. He wrote immediately to Parker that he had been informed that "a most pestiferous tragedy" had been performed by the youth of Christ's College contrary to the mind of the master and president, and desired

him, while he reserved his opinion, to make a full enquiry, to send him further information. Parker at once proceeded to carry out his wishes, and found that the play had been sanctioned and paid for by the College authorities, but not before it had been previously expurgated, and all matter whereby offence might arise having been omitted under the direction and supervision of the seniors. No one who was present was in the least grieved. Gardiner was by no means satisfied. Fresh accounts of the performance reached him, so derogatory to the law that he required a more minute examination and at the same time censured the fellows for setting such a bad example to the students. Parker was ordered to assemble the College heads and the doctors of the University and to place the case before them. No toleration could possibly be given to any praise of things contrary to his Majesty's opinions nor to any satire on doctrine or practice still maintained by the law. Gardiner was specially angered because the latest accounts sent to him said that the play attacked "Lent fastings, all ceremonies, and, albeit the words of sacrament and mass were not named, yet the rest of the matter written in that tragedy in the reproof of them was expressed." The very fact that the work was emended for the stage made what was spoken more serious, as it was done after due deliberation and thought, and was therefore a presumptuous mock and scorn of the King's godly proceedings. Gardiner was astute enough to remind Parker that many were disappointed at the result of the University commission about the preservation of the colleges, and that unless this matter was satisfactorily cleared up, many more would be added

to those who regretted the King's decision with regard to them. What, argued the Chancellor, would be the advantage of preserving schools of learning when so notorious a breach of faith could only succeed in strengthening the daily growing opinion that the Universities were the corruption of the realm? Even Oxford, less favoured as it was, put Cambridge to shame. Parker accordingly summoned his heads and reported the result. None of them were offended as far as they could remember with anything which they saw or heard. Many were absent and could not express an opinion. Scott alone objected. In addition Parker sent the Chancellor a copy of the play corrected for the stage in order that he might judge for himself. Scott had fallen into ill fame with his college, not only because of his report to Gardiner, but because during the debate among the fellows over the question of performing the play he had maintained that the play was throughout poison and that it was no argument to say that it was a mere satire on the Pope's authority, because such an argument destroyed all godliness. Parker was conscious that he had scored a point in eliciting this information, and was careful to furnish Gardiner with a copy of Scott's very words attested by the signatures of those who heard them uttered. Even then Gardiner did not let the matter drop. The corrected copy not only shewed him that much offensive matter had been spoken, but that the college was sorely lacking in discretion, because many praiseworthy sentiments were cut out. Truth and falsehood were so mixed up under an attempt to satirize the Pope that no corrections could ever produce a satisfactory result. The entire incident was a disgrace to the University,

an insult to authority, and promised little for good order and reformation. Gardiner after this proceeded to attack Cambridge on general grounds, but seeing that Parker's account of Scott's attitude towards the Pope was too serious to be overlooked, he reported the whole matter to the Council. The Council wrote to Parker in general terms, and advised him to call the offending parties before him and admonish them. They did not seem inclined to take up Gardiner's quarrel, and thus the matter ended. Gardiner, however, felt that he had been badly treated on all sides, especially by Parker.

**Breach of
friendship
with
Gardiner.**

This was the unfortunate result too easy in an age of high-strung passions and was the more regrettable because Gardiner was a man much more worthy of respect than many of his contemporaries. It is just to his memory to say that no record remains of his having attempted to apprehend Parker during the Marian reaction. Parker's influence over him might have modified his attitude towards later developments and taught him patience and the wisdom of waiting till the abnormal had disappeared. It was singularly unfortunate that they did not become reconciled, for Gardiner only needed guidance to see how necessary reform was. He had thrown over the papal jurisdiction by an appeal to antiquity. His connexion with politics alone warped his judgment and curtailed his study. He was one of those men who move slowly from the old paths, and whatever may be said of his after career under Mary, when the iron had entered his soul, he stood out as an Englishman against the Spanish match, which he saw would irrevocably alienate the nation. The influence of scholarship, and a less precipitous line of action under

Edward VI, might have held him true to his Church, and retained his skill as an administrator at a time singularly lacking in official discretion and tact.

Henry VIII's reign thus closed with two of the most prominent men alienated, and this at a time when consolidation was pre-eminently needed in the face of inevitable problems. The papal jurisdiction was overthrown, médiæval doctrines were supported by statute law, and the new king was a minor, practically at the mercy of extremists, and incapable of carrying the nation with him. Learning and administrative experience were never more needed to work together, with the outlook in Church and State singularly dark and ambiguous. It is at this point that we must more than ever abandon present day views of history and throw ourselves back to view with contemporary eyes the course of events. With the accession of Edward VI, the whole of the Reformation movement became so suddenly complicated and the scenes began to shift with such extraordinary rapidity that it becomes increasingly difficult to distinguish motive from principle, and to determine how far actions and positions were prompted by the wise patience which can foresee a satisfactory issue and can conscientiously suffer many insults to things however sacred but not necessary to the life of the Church, or were the outcome of a fascinating individualism of self-interest and personal gain, or were the sudden determination of men incapable of conceiving a transition period in history and thus forced to make an imagined permanence the strong factor in deciding their position.

Close of
Henry's
reign.

[AUTHORITIES.—Strype as before. For Parker's presentation to Clare see his journal as before. For the history

of Clare see Dugdale, *Monasticon*, where the original statutes may also be found. A large mass of material connected with the college is in the *Parker MSS.* (Corpus Christi Coll., Camb.), Vol. [cviii]. The statutes reformed by Parker are item 4 (cf. item 35); item 40 is the inventory of goods at Parker's Entrance. The visitations of Stoke are in Jessopp, *Norwich Visitations* (Camden Society). See also *Chart Misc.* (Lambeth MSS.), Vol. xiii for an account of Stoke in the first year of Edward VI. Compare *Lambeth MSS.*, 585, 104. Parker's defence of the foundation is in *Correspondence* No. xxiii. See *ibid.*, p. 32 (note) for the King's decision. Henry's order for his election to the Mastership of Corpus is *ibid.*, No. xiii, and his election to the Vice-Chancellorship, *ibid.*, No. xiv. For his reform of Corpus see Lamb *l.c.*; Stokes, *History of Corpus Christi* (Coll. Hist. Series); Josselyn, *Historalia* (Camb. Antiq. Soc., Octavo series, No. xvii, 1880). For his gifts, etc., to the Library, see M. E. James, *Sources of Parker's MSS.* (Camb. Antiq. Society, No. xxxii, 1899), and Strype. For miscellaneous documents relating to Corpus and Parker see *U. L. Camb. MSS.*, Gg. IV, 8; Mm. 2, 23. For his defence of the University see *Correspondence* No. xxiv, and notes; Ascham, *Epistolæ* and *Parker MSS.* cviii. For his reforms see *U. L. Camb. MSS.*, Gg. IV, 8 (21). For his dispute with Gardiner see Mullinger *l.c.* and *Correspondence* Nos. xvi-xxi. A German edition of *Pammachius* is in British Museum (Wittenburg? 1538? 11,745, d. 26.) For Gardiner's attitude towards Rome see his *De Vera Obedientia*.]

CHAPTER V

THE FOREIGN ASCENDANCY, 1547-1553

THE reign of Edward VI covers one of those side issues in the Reformation to which reference has already been made. Two outstanding circumstances made this inevitable. The nation was no longer held together by the strong will of a monarch who summed up its ideal of unity, and nurtured the growing spirit of national pride and patriotism. During Henry's lifetime the extremists on both sides were so carefully controlled that the balance of power was not endangered and neither party could claim the upper hand. Unfortunately during the minority of the new sovereign the reins of Government fell into the hands of a prominent extremist. Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, and Lord Protector of England, was the acknowledged head of the Protestant faction. It was soon evident that he intended to make no attempt to follow the Henrician policy, but was determined to make his own religious opinions felt and to develop the new movement along the lines of continental reform. He found a ready and able supporter in Archbishop Cranmer, who had already shown his hand in an unsuccessful attempt to induce Henry to more extreme action. Cranmer's opinions had begun to lose their English character, and were becoming more and more identical with those of the German reformers.

Edward VI's reign a side issue.

But Somerset was not only an extremist, and thus incapable of carrying the nation with him. He was

Somerset's failure.

incapable of directing the foreign and domestic policy of the country. His unwise war with Scotland made that country the firmer ally of France and Roman Catholicism. A wise foreign minister would have foreseen that it was a dangerous policy to alienate the Northern Kingdom at a time when European politics were becoming more complicated and were making England's position one of increasing difficulty. At home he was equally a failure. The nation, in spite of all the ecclesiastical wealth which had been diverted from its original purposes, was heavily in debt. The coinage had been debased to help in paying the clamorous creditors. Thus everything had become more expensive, and circumstances made it impossible for the people to pay the greatly increased prices for the ordinary necessities of life. They were no longer adequately paid. The destruction of the monasteries had called into being many new landlords who had no conception of the responsibilities of their office, and were never inclined to be lenient to their tenants, who were in their eyes merely means to provide money on demand. This the tenants could not do. Whole tracts of agricultural land were turned into sheep farms, requiring less work and fewer labourers. Many villages disappeared before the demand for wider grazing areas. Thus the ranks of the unemployed were augmented, and those who had work found that they received less wages for attending to sheep than for tilling the ground. Even there the greed of the landlord class did not stop. They boldly enclosed waste or common lands from which many people drew their sole livelihood. Somerset had no policy ready to meet these changes. He

was incapable of seeing the root evils, and his commission to enquire into the circumstances was not appointed from any economic standpoint, but because he feared the people might throw their weight against the main object of making them Protestants. This is exactly what happened. With that bold reasoning characteristic of the peasant classes, they seized on the religious changes as the nearest excuse for their altered conditions, and broke out into armed revolt. Their reasoning was eminently practical, and the breaking down of ecclesiastical barriers had in their eyes only succeeded in establishing a tyranny of the rich. They could not be expected to enter into details with starvation and death staring them in the face. The expenditure of his energies in religious partizanship made Somerset incapable of giving any reply to the rebels except the brutal attacks of foreign mercenaries. It is difficult to believe that there was no better way possible than the butchery in Devon, or Warwick's treachery in Norfolk.

Another event helped to complicate the situation. Early in the century the German Empire had been split into two parties. The followers of Luther had organized themselves under the League of Smalkald, and the Roman Catholic party had replied with a counter organization. At the moment Charles V was unable to give his attention to crush this threatening enemy, because foreign affairs demanded a conciliatory home policy at the time. He had to rely on Germany, which had then no organic unity, to help him in his wars in France and Spain. As soon, however, as these were over, his position as head of the Roman Catholic world demanded that

Changes
abroad
affect
England.

he should be zealous against the strong Protestant party at home, which had now adequately served him in the field. Charles V was no blind adherent of mediævalism. He saw the necessity of a modified reform, and persuaded the Pope to call a general council while he declared war on the League. The council accordingly met at Trent, in the Emperor's dominions, and the League was crushed at the battle of Mühlberg. Paul III, however, became at once anxious owing to this military success. He feared that Charles should attempt to become more powerful in Italy and proceed like Henry VIII to settle the religious affairs of his country at his own pleasure. He therefore thought it wise to dissolve the council, sitting as it did in a place subject to Charles' authority. The Emperor replied by the decree known as the Interim, which granted moderate reforms, but was in no way agreeable to the Protestant party now determined on a complete break with Rome. Many therefore refused to sign the Interim of 1548 and were received with open arms in England. Thus the English Protestant party became materially strengthened, and the national instincts were perverted in a German direction.

High-handed action in the religious changes.

Nor were the official acts in the religious changes carried out in such a way as to hold the nation together. The Lower House of Convocation, it is true, passed motions in favour of Communion under both kinds and the marriage of the clergy. These changes, however, did not affect the general mass of the people. Clerical marriage was at least tolerated under Henry VIII and communion was too infrequent to call for immediate criticism. Popular practices,

however, bound up with a body of really wholesome teaching—such as Holy Water, Holy Bread, processions and the like—and eminently useful among an uneducated people who grasp truth better through object lessons, were abrogated by orders in Council. It was no excuse for the policy to argue that there had been abuses. It was sufficient for the zealous Council that such practices had no sanction in Scripture. No matter how useful they might again become under wise direction, they had to go before the forces of undisciplined and illogical reform. Again, both Prayer Books were the work of haste. However excellent the first may be, it had no sanction from the body of clergy, and they used it in such a manner as to make the change as little noticeable to the people as possible. Its successor was a base surrender to protestant influence. It was in vain for the Government to hope for national unity by endeavouring to dragoon the people into obedience by Acts of Uniformity. The die was cast. Equally deplorable was the Royal Visitation of 1547, because it defeated many praiseworthy ends by emphasizing unimportant differences and enforcing standards which had no ecclesiastical authority behind them, and sometimes actually contrary to the still binding laws. Perhaps the most hurtful of all the changes to the cause of real reform was the Chantry Act, by which the private funds of parish fraternities and gilds—the friendly societies of the age—were transferred to the Crown. Nothing seemed sacred. While prominent personages in Church and State were spending their time and energy in fruitless controversy, anti-nomianism became rampant, and the sacred treasures of the

Church disappeared with the connivance of the Government, or were commandeered to provide funds for an impoverished exchequer. The course of the Reformation under Edward VI was destined to be deeply deplorable, because theological debates and personal gains could not but lower it in the eyes of the mass of the people. It was far too precipitous, too unconsidered, too fluctuating. It lacked any strength of consistency and uniformity of purpose. A people who saw an English Service Book enforced by severe penalties were not likely to form a high estimation of the moral worth of officials who refused to provide the Irish people equally with a service book in their own language, and forced an English one upon them which they could not understand. Thus the nation was divided into two great parties—Papist and Protestant—and the strong central party left behind by Henry VIII gradually became reduced in numbers and weakened in influence.

Parker a
licenced
preacher—
promotions.

In the midst of such a complicated life, Parker, as far as we can tell, did not come into any prominent place either as a reformer or an administrator. He seems however, to have been acceptable to the authorities, for he was one of the preachers who received the royal licence to preach with Latimer, Cox, Horne, Sandys, and Grindal; and he frequently preached before the Court and at St. Paul's Cross, places carefully tuned to the recurring changes. In addition he received promotion to the rich and important deanery of Lincoln. These facts must be taken as sufficient evidence for his advancing a considerable way with Cranmer and his party, as it is otherwise extremely difficult to account for his selection. But there is little evidence to go upon,

and the accounts which have come down to us of his life during this reign are not sufficient. He continued to hold his mastership of Corpus, and was frequently employed with Cecil on University commissions; but their object and result are both obscure. He also once again held the office of Vice-Chancellor to the joy of his friends who found in him "another Cato or Quintus Fabius come to life." There is no reason to believe that he took any special part in the excesses and lawless iconoclasm of his day, although he certainly preached at Holy Trinity, Ely, in December, 1550, during the visitation which enforced the Council's order for removal of altars and the erection of a Holy Table. He was not, however, one of the royal visitors in any part of the kingdom.

Almost immediately after the marriage of priests **Marriage.** was approved by the Lower House of Convocation, he married in his forty-third year Margaret Harlston, a woman of tact and character, to whom he had been betrothed for seven years. She was a native of Norfolk, her father being "Robert Harlston of Mattishall, gentleman." In the Marian persecutions her family suffered severe hardships. She evidently made Parker an excellent wife, and aroused the admiration of his friends, Ridley even inquiring if she had a sister, and protesting that "for the fame of her virtue in God I do love." Even Queen Elizabeth, in later years, with all her prejudice against clerical marriage, was forced to acknowledge her worth, and Parker's chaplain has left us a happy picture of domestic happiness during the twenty-three years of their married life.

Two other events of particular interest are

**Kett's
Rebellion.**

connected closely with Parker, namely Kett's rebellion, and the work of Martin Bucer. Kett led the peasants of Norfolk who had risen in revolt on account of the agrarian troubles. He was by no means an ignorant mechanic, but was the proprietor of considerable manors and of much tact and discrimination. During the progress of the rebellion, Parker happened to be in Norwich, preaching at the city churches. As the rebels all conformed to the English service, which was daily read in camp, and permitted the licenced preachers to address them, Parker undertook a journey to their camp, where he found the Litany in progress and the army assembled to hear the Common Prayer. In a burst of enthusiasm, he mounted the large oak in the middle of the camp, known as "the Oak of Reformation," and proceeded to preach. He gave them some excellent advice. As their supplies were running short he advised them not to despoil their neighbours' lands by destroying the crops, to avoid shedding blood, and not to distrust the King. Only an outline of the sermon is preserved. It was sufficient to arouse the passions of the audience and the "hireling doctor" only escaped assault by the judicious raising of the *Te Deum*. Parker does not seem to have alluded to the religious element in the revolt, which was in this particular rising more a secondary cause than the failure of the home Government. Nor do we know how far he sympathized with the wrongs of the people. His main object was to support law and order, and to point out that violent methods were the least successful in ensuring redress. He had no reason to believe that a solution to their difficulties would not be arrived at from a proper authority in a constitutional manner. In S.

Clement's, Norwich, the next day, he again preached on the rebellion, but finding that many of his audience belonged to Kett's force, he hurried back to Cambridge. His audiences were not likely to be moved by his discourses, as they saw neither relief nor prospect of success before them, and were maddened by camp life and the lack of provisions. In the issue Parker's hopes were not fulfilled. Warwick dealt treacherously with the leaders, and overthrew the rebellion with severe measures. Parker's interference, however, seems to be quite unworthy, as he apparently forgot for a moment the condition of the rebels, how easy it was to speak from the vantage-ground of success and sufficiency and how difficult the changes had made agricultural life in England. His bequest to Alexander Neville as a reward for writing a history of the rebellion was also far from well earned. Although we owe to Neville the record of Parker's adventure, yet his history is a work of undue flattery to Parker, and of severe bias against the rebels. We can only believe that Parker justified himself on the score of law and order, but that does not account for Neville's bigoted and laudatory book.

On the other hand, Parker was no supporter of the measures which had robbed the Church and given her lands to the new landlord class, which was largely responsible for the rebellion. The alienation of the ecclesiastical possessions could have in no way the blessing of God, and would result in an inadequate supply of candidates for Holy Orders, who, like the Levites under Nehemiah, would flee the ministry. Already the Universities were not providing a sufficient supply. Scholarship was on the decline and students were diminishing; yet none of

Parker and the alienation of Church property.

this alienated property was given to revive learning or to encourage young men to hope for even an adequate wage. The Church had become the laughing stock of papists, and a stumbling block to the weaker brethren. Magistrates and bishops were losing authority, because in the eyes of the people they were serving their own ends, or had received preferment and authority by suspicious means. No honest man can be produced from history who had transferred Church land and revenues to laymen. The fathers of the Church were against it, and even the German reformers, now so influential, refused to lend it support by word or deed. It was certainly a triumph for Parker to quote Bucer on his side, at a time when the foreign refugees controlled so largely ecclesiastical thought and were in high favour with Cranmer and the Government. "It was nothing," said Bucer, "but sacrilege and lessing the revenues of the crucified Lord, it was an accursed thing." Parker also borrowed the words of S. Ambrose, "he could not take ought from the house of God nor deliver up what was given him on trust." It was no excuse to say that the alienation had taken place to assist the King in the government of the country—even he should give to the Church and not take away—for events showed that the greater proportion passed into other hands. Parker was perfectly prepared for a better distribution of revenues, and a more equitable method of paying the clergy according to their zeal and ability, "but so as not a penny might be transferred from the use of the clergy to the profit of others." This document is a reasoned defence of ecclesiastical finance, and as usual with Parker, is based on learning and common sense. It appears to

have been drawn up after Kett's rebellion and the drastic measures meted out to the rebels. The entire policy of the Government in this connexion was actuated by greed and selfish motives. Parker saw that there was little hope of better social conditions so long as legalized robbery was held up as the ideal. We can also draw from it his attitude towards the wholesale devastation of Churches and the destruction of their ornaments. He could not be a party to the betrayal of a sacred trust committed to the Church. It is well to emphasize this bold line, because it has too frequently been argued that Parker's preferences prove him to have acquiesced silently in the Edwardine reformation. The juster view appears to be that he was willing to be advanced because he was willing to do his duty honestly and to follow the call of God. He was ready at any moment to give up an appointment when he found himself incapable of performing his work honestly and adequately. At a later date he prayed not to be sent back to the deanery of Lincoln.

Another important matter remains to be discussed. How far was Parker influenced in his theological thought by the German reformers? German theological controversy centred largely round the Holy Eucharist, but it was singularly inconsistent in its definitions: there were many theories, each of which possessed a representative in England. The three most prominent reformers were John à Lasco, who was permitted to superintend the worship of the foreign Protestants in London, and was practically a Zwinglian in his sacramental theology, Peter Martyr, professor of theology at Oxford, also a Zwinglian, and Martin Bucer, who held a similar appointment at Cambridge,

Friend-
ship with
Bucer.

and was a moderate follower of Luther's sacramental teaching and held that the sacraments conferred grace. It is not clear how far Parker was brought into contact with John à Lasco and Martyr, but he was the intimate friend and associate of Bucer until his death in 1551. Although Parker took no part in the public disputation on the Holy Eucharist which had been held at Cambridge during the Royal Visitation of 1547, yet it is certain from his writings that his study must have included the question, nor could he have avoided it at a time when it was so keenly debated. It was singularly fortunate that he should have become closely acquainted with Bucer, because he was by far the most valuable of the German theologians. He represented the middle party between the extreme Zwinglians and Lutherans. To hold such a difficult position obscured his style and justified in a degree Bossuet's designation of him as "the great architect of subtleties;" but if his theory of the Real Presence was not quite in agreement with the Fathers and the undivided Church, it represented when disentangled from verbal elaborations a simpler and more scriptural point of view than those of the Protestant "schoolmen." He was a man of modest and blameless life, an honest and learned critic, as shown in his criticism on the First Prayer Book, and was generally beloved for the gentleness of his nature, and his sincere desire to make religion a practical matter in daily life and conduct. Parker's sacramental theology owed no small influence to his work and teaching. No one can read the prefaces to Parker's translation of the Anglo-Saxon Homilies without being convinced that he realized the happy mean between the mediæval and sacramentarian

theories. The dogmatic articles which he drew up at the beginning of his primacy with the other bishops, in which it is stated that "in the Lord's Supper is given to the faithful the communion of the Body and Blood of Christ," witness to a like moderation. Bucer almost realized this. Any theory is of small importance so long as it is not made binding on the Christian conscience, and Bucer was one with Parker in holding as binding the Catholic faith of grace conveyed by the sacraments. He failed in elaboration and definition. Parker avoided both. The dogmatic articles above referred to are Tacitean in their conciseness. It would lead into too great details to trace out this doctrinal relationship, but the more one studies Parker's position the more one is convinced that his carefully weighed utterances owed much to Bucer's works. But Parker was in no sense a Lutheran, as he has been too often styled by friend and foe. He was careful to explain that he only followed the reformers in so far as they followed the primitive Church, and he had too sound a training in Patristic theology to lend himself to any dogmatic theory. But Bucer's close relationship with him deserves more attention than can be given to it here, and would repay careful consideration. It is enough to notice that Parker eventually helped to destroy the low estimate of the sacraments which had become marked after Bucer's death in the Edwardine Articles of Religion and Second Prayer Book. These were in no sense products of the Church but owed their origin to the pitiable influence of Zwingli's disciples over Cranmer, many of whom were so fanatical as to throw doubt on the righteousness of baptism by a Lutheran. Parker does not appear

to have been influenced in any way by this school of thought, and it is even unlikely that he had any close connexion with its adherents. He certainly guided the Convocation of 1563 to a statement of Eucharistic doctrine more in accordance with the mind of the primitive Church, and this still claims the assent of the English clergy. It may seem unnecessary to have drawn Parker into the Eucharistic controversy of his day on so little direct evidence, and especially as the side issues of the Reformation during his primacy were largely free from it; but in view of his dealings with the returned Marian exiles, such a point could hardly be overlooked, and is best considered together with the Edwardine history of the subject. These exiles presented a petition to the Queen in which they maintained a Receptionist theory, and were much disturbed because Parker took away from the Edwardine Articles the denial of the Real Presence. This was in their eyes one of the blemishes of the Church of England.

**Preaches
Bucer's
funeral
sermon.**

It was a just tribute to their Cambridge friendship that Bucer should have made Parker his executor and that Parker should have been chosen to preach his funeral sermon. The note which Parker struck in this sermon was eminently suited to the time, and there was a singularly sad reflection in those words from the Book of Wisdom which formed part of the text, "Yea, speedily was he taken away lest that wickedness should alter his understanding, or deceit beguile his soul." He left aside Bucer's theological opinions and dwelt largely on his loss as a great Christian scholar—"the chief master-workman," whom few followed in the sincerity of his aims and the holiness of his life. His death was no cause for

sorrow, rather should they grieve for themselves as impious and disobedient men sunk in contention and wickedness. If the purpose of God in calling from them such an example of piety did not turn their hearts to moral amendment and sincere repentance, He would chasten them with heavier punishments for their envy, blindness, tumults and hatred. It was a bold attack on the weakness of the age, which largely spent itself in relegating religion to the realms of controversy, while the everyday life of the people was unaffected by moral reforms. Parker touched a flagrant evil when he pointed out that many were ready to follow because of the excitement of debate but shrank from gentleness and moderation, and avoided the more difficult life of common day Christianity.

It was unlikely that any constructive work should be produced amid such vehemence and strife. Attempts, however, were made to revise the pre-Reformation Canon Law, and to place it on a more assured footing. The entire history of this work is involved and obscure. The Church, by the Statute of the Submission of the Clergy in 1534, was prohibited from formulating any new laws without royal licence, and the Canon Law then in force was abrogated in so far as it struck against the Royal supremacy and maintained the papal jurisdiction. All this was very complicated, for in addition to the large body of enactments collected by Gregory XIII and binding on the whole of Western Christendom, the English Church, like other local churches, was governed by English Canon Law framed by national synods or papal legates. It was difficult to understand whether the whole of Western Canon Law was nullified by

**The Canon
Law.**

owing its authority to the Popes, and equally difficult was it to separate much local Canon Law from a similar relationship. This must have been quite clear to Henry, and he must also have clearly seen that the whole process by which the ecclesiastical regulations passed into positive laws requiring a central authority to protect and administer them had meant the increased power of the papal jurisdiction, and the consequent subservience of local churches to the see of Rome. On three separate occasions during his reign parliamentary authority was given for a committee to consider the whole question. Nothing, however, appears to have been done. In the succeeding reign attention was again early drawn to the matter by the petition of the Lower House of Convocation to the bishops desiring to have the royal licence according to the Henrician statute in order that they might "attempt, treat, and determine of such matters. . . which otherwise they may not do upon pain and penalty promised." The answer returned is not forthcoming, but two Acts of Parliament provided for a Committee to revise the Canon Law and formulate a new code, which when signed by the King should have the force of statute law. These two committees were accordingly appointed by orders in Council, and Parker was a member of each. Whether they ever met and seriously undertook the work is not clear, but Parker's selection evidently turned his thoughts in that direction. The sole product that remains is a manuscript, largely the work of Cranmer and Martyr, in the British Museum. In Elizabeth's reign this manuscript was revised by Parker, and published under his consent and approval by John Foxe in 1571. Parker's

revised manuscript does not exist, but it was evidently used by Foxe. Early in the Parliament of that year the work was called for by one of the members and presented to the House of Commons. It is difficult to decide how far it was agreeable to either party. The maintenance of the episcopal order was not likely to be received silently by the Puritans, by that time grown quite impatient. On the other hand, Foxe's preface to the book and the speeches of some of the members during the session, implied such a modification of the Prayer Book as to render it unlikely that the Anglican party should hazard a debate on the Prayer Book for the sake of the new code. It is also difficult to determine how far Parker desired the revision to pass into law. He certainly showed considerable interest in carefully revising the older manuscript. He judiciously corrected the statement on justification by faith and so modified a passage that it might not be used against the custom of communicating the sick with the sacrament reserved from a communion on the same day. Calvin had lent his support to this method and it appears to have obtained in England. No provision was as yet made in the Prayer Book for a celebration in the sick room, but both customs may have existed side by side. However, the unsolicited attempts of this Parliament to regulate religious questions were disagreeable to the Queen, and this may account for the fact that there is no further mention of the *Reformatio Legum* in the journals of either House. There the matter rested, and no attempt has since been made to revise the pre-Reformation Canon Law, which rests on the basis laid down in the Henrician statute, in so far as it has

not been modified or changed by subsequent ecclesiastical enactments. It is clear, however, that Parker recognised the broad principles of this statute, and on many occasions he fell back on the old Canon Law to enforce discipline in various matters, such as fasting, marriage, and Holy Orders.

[AUTHORITIES.—Strype, as before. Dixon, Vol. iii. Cranmer, *Remains*. Nichols' *Narratives of the Reformation* (Camden Society). Pocock, *Troubles connected with Book of Common Prayer* (Camden Society). Creighton, *Age of Queen Elizabeth*. Most of the orders in Council are in Wilkins' *Concilia* iv. For the Irish Prayer Book see Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland* (1841). For Parker's licence to preach see *S. P. D. Edward VI*, ii. 34, *ibid.*, xiv. 40. For the order for altars see Cranmer's *Remains*, and for Parker's enforcement of it Cooper, *Athenæ Cant.* For his marriage see his journal, Lamb, *l.c.*, *Nugæ Antiquæ*, and Drake *l.c.* For Kett's rebellion see Blomfield *l.c.*, Neville, *Norfolk Furies* (Eng. ed., 1615, Brit. Mus. 1093, b. 76). For his opinions on alienations see Strype *Parker* iii. App. No. vii. For Bucer's opinions see *Scripta Anglicana* and *Original Letters*, No. clii. For Parker's early dogmatic articles see W. M. Kennedy, *The Interpretations of the Bishops*, etc. (1908), and for the Marian Exiles' petition to Elizabeth see *Parker MSS.* cxxi, 20. Compare also *Zurich Letters* I, 165. For Bucer's funeral sermon, see Hubertus, *Historia Vera . . M. Bucer* (1562, Brit. Mus. 1371, a. 1) and compare *U. L. C. MSS.*, Mm. V. 41 (12). For the state of morals under Edward vi see Frere and Kennedy, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, Vol. I (1908), and a valuable article by Pocock in *English Historical Review* X, 417. For the Canon Law see *Statutes at Large*; Collins, *The Nature and Force of Canon Law* (Church Historical Society). The original of the *Reformatio Legum* is in *Harleian MSS.*, Vol. 426. Foxe's edition has been reprinted by Cardwell (Oxford, 1851). For Convocation see Cardwell, *Synodalia*, and Wilson, *The Order of the Communion* (1908).]

CHAPTER VI

THE MARIAN REACTION

EDWARD VI did not live long enough to see the changes made by his counsellors reach any definite stability. He died on the 6th July, 1553, in his seventeenth year. History must deal kindly with his character. His reign must be judged almost entirely apart from him, as it is impossible to associate the unformed judgment of a boy with such momentous problems as arose at the bidding of his ministers. No sooner was he dead than Northumberland prepared to carry out his ill-conceived and selfish plan of setting his daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey, on the throne. She was duly proclaimed Queen, but amid no applause from the people, who viewed with silent alarm such a violent subversion of the law to family ambition. Northumberland found that no popular army was ready to support his cause, and Mary quickly suspecting his designs of seizing her person, fled to Norwich, and raised her standard round which the nobility and their tenants flocked. Northumberland hastened from London to make her a prisoner, but soon fell back on Cambridge, where he was arrested. On his march north he had previously stopped at Cambridge, and Parker was one of a small company who supped with him there. Too much weight has been attached to this meeting. It has been maintained that it was an official support to the cause of Lady Jane, and that through it, he

Failure of
Northum-
berland's
schemes.

became prejudiced in Mary's eyes. There is no evidence for this. He appears to have been merely a member of a small social party, and history lends no support to the idea that he sympathised with Northumberland's policy. There is no necessity to enter into the painful details which sacrificed so many lives, and especially that of a young and brilliant girl on the altar of personal ambition. In due course Mary became Queen.

Various
stages of
the reaction

The unreformed service was at once restored, and the religious *status quo* at the end of Henry's reign marked the opening years of the new régime. Mary's actions were apart from any mention of the bishop of Rome, and things went smoothly enough with the leaders of Protestantism scattered in exile or in prison. The country people were on the whole willing to accept the new state of affairs, and the large towns which favoured the Edwardine extremes could be easily controlled. It was only with the Spanish match that the Pope returned. A papal legate once more asserted authority in England in the person of the weak Cardinal Pole, who absolved the kingdom from schism, and thus restored the religious *status quo* before the abolition of the papal jurisdiction. Thus the reign is clearly divided into two characteristic periods. The first without the Pope but with the "old religion," the second with the full papal system once again governing the Church of England.

Parker
deprived.

To the first period belongs the repeal of the Edwardine statute which gave civil sanction to the marriage of the clergy already approved in the Lower House of Convocation. Mary made no effort to have the matter considered by the Church, but issued peremptory injunctions to the bishops to proceed at once to

“deprive or declare deprived and remove according to their learning and discretion all such persons from their benefices and ecclesiastical promotions, who, contrary to the state of their order and the laudable custom of the Church have married and used women as their wives . . . and likewise such priests as with the consent of their wives or women openly in the presence of the bishop do profess to abstain, to be used more favourably,” allowing them after due penance to resume their ministerial work in another sphere. This order is of great historical importance, because recent research has shown that the Marian deprivations were largely on account of marriage and not from any defect in the Edwardine ordinal, a subject which is discussed in the appendix in connexion with Parker’s consecration. Three courses were thus open to Parker. He could leave his wife, and later be capable of receiving promotion. He could resort to Frankfort or Strassburg with many of his brethren, or he could retire into obscurity. The first would hardly recommend itself to him, and the second must have been equally distasteful, because he had seen enough of foreigners and was not likely to be attracted by the idea of living among people who burst out into factious squabbles over petty problems of speculative theology. His nature revolted against tumult and unrest. He chose, therefore, the third alternative, and retired with his family into obscurity. Anticipating deprivation, he resigned his mastership of Corpus in December, 1553, to Lawrence Moptyde, whom he had “chosen under constraint” as his successor. In the months following Mary’s injunction he was “canonically deprived,” as the manuscript reads, of his prebend in Ely which

was given to John Young who conformed and afterwards became Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge; of his rectory of Landbeach which he procured for William Whalley; and of his prebend and deanery in Lincoln, "for being married," as the bishop reported to the Lord Treasurer. The deanery was conferred by Mary on Francis Mallet, who had previously been her chaplain. He afterwards accepted the Elizabethan settlement and continued to hold his appointment.

His mode
of life.

Parker's life during Mary's reign is largely unknown to us. His chaplain records that in humble contentment he lived with a friend and lightened the burden of a poor and needy life with study and divine contemplation. He also appears to have shared his retirement with Guest, who afterwards became his first domestic chaplain, and installed him in Canterbury. Parker's own picture of this period is worthy of reproduction: "I lived as a private individual so happy before God in my conscience and as far from being either ashamed or dejected that the delightful literary leisure to which the good providence of God recalled me yielded me much greater and more solid enjoyments than my former busy and dangerous kind of life had ever offered me. What shall befall me hereafter I know not, but to God who cares for all men, who will one day reveal the secrets of the hearts, I commit myself wholly and my good and virtuous wife, with my two very dear children. And I beseech the same most merciful and almighty God that for the time to come we may so bear the reproach of Christ with unbroken courage as ever to remember that here we have no continuing city, but seek one to come by the grace and

mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost be all honour and dominion, Amen." It is almost sacrilege to comment on such an intimate record which perhaps never was meant for the public eye, but this at least may be said, that Parker's character was one of the most lovely and most lovable in an age singularly lacking in beautiful characters. Nor was he left in peace. He tells us that his enemies followed him and that he met with a serious accident by a fall from his horse from which he never really recovered. Yet his courage never forsook him and on the eve of his promotion to Canterbury he could look back and thank God for ministering to him "sufficiently above his understanding or foreseeing." But the loneliness and solicitude of these "hard years of Mary's reign, in obscurity, without all conference or manner of study," told not only on his health, but emphasized what he calls his "overmuch shamefastness," and rendered him less capable of meeting with strangers, or discussing problems with them. Still, as he tells us, he persevered "in the same constancy, supported by the grace and goodness of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ," and even when the dreary banishment was almost at a close—"I still live happy, contented with my lot, trusting in the testimony of my conscience in the Lord, relying on His word, waiting for the redemption of my body through Christ, my Saviour." This private journal is almost the only document left which tells us anything of these lonely years. Research has failed to disclose a letter to a friend which might throw light on his work and occupation: perhaps the times were too dangerous to venture on correspondence, and he unburdened

his heart to this journal as the safest means of helping him to bear his burden which otherwise friendship would have lightened. It is certain, however, that he continued his studies in Anglo-Saxon and Church history to which we shall return.

Literary
work :
(i) "The
Psalter."

Two books, however, which he tells us were completed at this time are best considered here as they do not occupy a place among his purely literary works. He finished a metrical version of the Psalter into the vulgar tongue. As Strype was not fortunate enough to see this book, it may be well to describe it somewhat in detail. It is prefaced, by some verses to the reader, and a long poem of seventy-four stanzas "on the Virtue of the Psalms." He gives a long account of how men in all ages and in all circumstances have drawn inspiration, comfort, and strength from the devotional use of the Psalter, and there seems something of a personal touch in the lines :—

"What man thou art in heaviness
With sundry cares oppressed,
And would have help in readiness
To heal his thoughtful breast.
If wrung thou beest by tyranny
And banished out of land,
Thou may'st relieve thy misery,
Content the Psalms to stand.
If train be laid all craftily
In spite, to trap thy way,
Take David's lire then readily
And bid thy foes go play."

It is no stretch of the imagination to say that Parker must have fallen back on the Psalter, long familiar to him as a priest, and drawn from it the same help in trouble as the Christian world has ever done. We think of it with *The Confessions of S.*

Augustine, and *The Imitation* true to every age and every fluctuation of life. He then proceeds to give his reasons for his translation, followed by several prose prefaces calling the Fathers and Christian antiquity to support his judgment. The translation proper is divided into three parts. Each psalm is prefaced by a devotional argument in prose and concluded by a collect. He seems to have translated the collects in the old Latin Psalters of the ninth and tenth centuries. These sets varied in different works, and Parker, perhaps, followed a manuscript of his own. But he composed and padded. For the most part, however, he used the well-known series given by Thomasius, but he diverges at points from the well-known manuscripts. In addition to collating his series with Thomasius, I have compared it with a Cotton, Harleian, Ashmolean and Additional manuscript and found that in no case does he follow any in detail. Nor does he uniformly follow the collects in the Psalter, published by Ludolf of Saxony, in 1495. Parker's Psalter, from a record in the *Stationers' Register* appears to have been published in 1567, so that he may have seen that issued by Cassander in 1560, but even then his collects do not uniformly follow Cassander's series. The translations, however, are excellent, and some of the original collects are of singular beauty in thought, piety, and workmanship. Finally the canticles are translated into verse, with the *Quicumque Vult* and the *Veni Creator*. An appendix contains the music of eight tunes by Tallis. There is a tradition that Parker wrote that for the *Veni Creator*, but there can be no doubt that it is the work of Tallis. The translations are in many different metres, which are handled easily

enough in an age with no tradition in devotional verse and no skill in popular versification. They do not call, however, for any praise, as they are marked with no poetical genius and in places are too literal even for smooth movement. Indeed for some reason or other no age has been able to produce a metrical version of the Psalms in English that rises above mediocrity, most fall far below it. But Parker's work has an interest quite apart from literature. Its place is among the happy personal products of meditation and retirement, which have their own reward in the devotional life of the soul and demand no notice and expect none from the literary critic. The book is like the stray notes which are often made when one communes with God, and the whole outline seems to point to the fact that Parker's work is part of his own devotional exercises which such a forced banishment as his may have made it more difficult for him to avoid putting into book form. This view disarms the criticism of the student, for the book is not meant for him. Its publication is justified as being the outcome of help found by Parker in the Psalter during Mary's reign, and he humbly offers it to others with hopes of a like result. Criticism is often hard on books of devotion. It is best to be blind to the faults which disfigure most of them, and to think of them as above criticism, because not for criticism, and as given to the world in the honesty of personal experience. Quite apart, however, from all these considerations, this work is one of the greatest value in helping us to form an estimate of Parker's character and in throwing light on the deep secret foundations of his moral strength.

The other book belonging to this period is a *Defence of The Marriage of Priests*. Early in Mary's reign a certain Thomas Martin had written an attack on clerical marriage which fell into Parker's hands or came to his knowledge through some similar book. This attack recalled to him a defence written by Ponet, which he edited, added to and published. It is an elaborate historical argument which has a peculiar interest on account of his deprivations. But by far the most interesting part is the preface, in which we have Parker's reflections on Mary's reign. The story of God's wrath would rise to volumes—what plagues of rain and tempest, what hunger and famine, what sickness and death. What banishment of men from England, what misery and torment for those forced to hide. What persecutions and villainies, what loose living after that the chaste marriage of priests was forbidden contrary to the laws of Christ. What worse than bringing back again that great adversary, the Pope of Rome. It was a picture to draw tears from any English heart, and English children yet unborn shall weep and wail the same. These were God's severe tokens of His displeasure towards England for despising His word, His light, His religion, His sacraments, His institutions. This preface suffers from rhetorical style and was written too much in the turmoil to stand as a just historical estimate. With this, however, we are not concerned. Parker was suffering and looked out on suffering, and there can be no doubt that his gentle nature rebelled against the wickedness of the reaction, and the injustice which was committed in the sacred name of the Christian religion.

(ii) "De-
fence of the
marriage
of priests.

Close of
Mary's
reign.

Mary's reign closed in pathetic chaos. History has been unkind to her, because history is too often written from the vantage ground of different ideals. Her whole life was one of extraordinary sorrow. She was always at the mercy of fluctuating Acts of Parliament, or tossed about in the eddies of religious controversy. It was her misfortune to be a Roman Catholic at a time when that system was least healthy and lovable. The Spanish match alienated her people, who were strong in the youth of patriotism and nationalism, and were forced to watch the nation's domestic life decay, through the misfortunes which it brought in its train. Saddest of all, Mary lived to see the papacy turn upon her. Paul IV used the enmity between himself and Spain as an opportunity to treat Philip II's wife with the cruelty which hitherto characterized the papal policy in the face of a political complication. Not only did he condemn the restoration of the Church lands to the Church as had been done, but he fell back on an old hatred which he had for Pole, and withdrew his powers as legate in England. The bitter irony of the situation is one of the most pathetic things in history. An insignificant friar was trusted with Pole's authority, and Mary rose for a moment out of the tragic bondage and threatened *praemunire* if the bull were published in England. Although the matter ended in no serious breach with Rome, yet Mary and Pole had to learn that they were at the mercy of European politics and that a man's foes are those of his own household. Then there was war with France, and the loss of Calais, which entered deeply into the soul of the people. The tragedy closed in darkness and despair. Not a ray of light seemed to penetrate

the gloom. Her husband, whom she loved as only a woman of her fierce embittered nature can, preferred Spain and the wars to her company. Her instinct of motherhood was never to be satisfied. Her wisest councillors were dead. Her friend was disgraced. Her people's loyalty was sacrificed to persecution and domestic incapacity. Before her lay the almost certain fact that the cause which she loved and the church which she conscientiously served, whose methods she had borrowed for its support, would fall into the sad history of lost causes and unrealized ideals. Before such a picture criticism is content to be silent. And one man faced the future "happy before God and content with my own lot have I lived, as neither to envy my superiors nor despise mine inferiors, directing all my efforts to this end—to serve God in a pure conscience, and to be neither despised by those above me nor feared by those beneath me." Ere the lamp of the Lord went out, Parker, strengthened and developed by adversity and persecution, was called "to serve God in a pure conscience."

[AUTHORITIES.—Strype. Dixon, Vol. iv. Foxe. Mary's injunctions about marriage are in Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*. Parker's deprivations are in *Add. MSS.* (Brit. Mus.) 5828, *The Thirlby Register*, and *Lansdowne MSS.* 981. For his retirement see his journal, and Drake *l.c.*, and his *Correspondence*, Nos. xlvi and cliii. His *Psalter* is in Brit. Mus. (C. 10, a. 3) with a few pages wanting. Complete Copy in Canterbury Cath. Library. The MSS., etc., with which I have collated it are *Add. MS.* 18297, *Harleian MS.* 2895, *Cotton MS.* Tib. c. vi (all in Brit. Mus.), and *Ashm. MS.*, 1525, also Ludolf of Saxony, *In Psalterium* (Brit. Mus., Ib. 8610), and Cassander, *Preces*, etc. (Cologne, 1560. Brit. Mus. 853, a. 2). There is also much about it in *Add. MSS.* (U. L. Camb.), ii. (102). For the date of its publication see *The Musical Times*, Dec. 1, 1903. For his *Defence*, etc., see copy in Brit. Mus. (697, 8, 13), and Strype, *Parker ii.* For Pole see *Dict. Nat. Biog.* For the Marian Deprivations see W. H. Frere, *The Marian Reaction*, 1896.]

CHAPTER VII

THE OPENING MONTHS OF ELIZABETH'S REIGN

ARCHBISHOP Pole died on November 18th, 1558, the day after his royal mistress, and more than a year passed before Parker was consecrated his successor. This year was, perhaps, the most momentous in the history of the English Church, for her very existence as an integral and reformed province of the Catholic Church depended on the course of events, and how the complicated situation would be simplified and directed. But it possesses a more immediate interest. The changes and legislation of these months lie behind Parker's career as archbishop. He watched from the beginning the alternating hopes and fears of the extremists on both sides, and found in the issue that the wisdom of statesmanship had constructed a policy which supported his own moderate position and balance of theological thought. It will be necessary, therefore, to form a fairly full conception of how the Elizabethan ecclesiastical system, which he took over as archbishop, was arrived at.

State of the
country.

Mary left behind her a sorry and ambiguous legacy. The nation was deeply in debt. Trade was stagnant, and the people were worn out by poverty, illness, and persecution. There was no primate, five sees were vacant, and within a short period death was to claim two more of the surviving bishops. The war with France had not been concluded, and the Scottish question had now become more complex by the marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots, to the Dauphin.

Thus the nations, both north and south, were united against England. Waad in an Elizabethan state paper sums up the situation: everything that happened before is nothing to the loss of Calais. "The Queen poor, the realm exhausted, the nobility poor and decayed, want of good captains and soldiers, the people out of order, justice not executed, the magistrates not meet for office, all things dear, excepting meat, milk and apparel, division among ourselves, wars with France and Scotland, the French king bestriding the realm, having one foot in Calais and the other in Scotland, steadfast enmity but no steadfast friendship abroad." This alliance compelled the continuance of an awkward friendship with Spain, which stands at the beginning of the reign as the herald of many succeeding examples of time-serving but necessary diplomacy. Elizabeth herself was known to be favourable to the policy of Henry VIII, but from her childhood she had learned experience in the bitter school of adversity, and a contemporary writer was not slow to see that a policy of delay, in contrast to the violence of her sister's rule, was to mark the opening months of her reign.

The astute foreign ambassadors, therefore, watched eagerly to see what course events would follow, although the Queen gave them little to go upon. She at once called into her service William Cecil, who had conformed like herself under Mary, a man of patient and dispassionate character, who was in no way likely to err by want of tact and discretion. Quiet and unobtrusive changes took place in the Council, which began at once to discuss the difficult questions which presented themselves to them. The course

Opening
events.

of wisdom seemed clear with regard to foreign relations. It was easy to see that Philip of Spain could be relied on to oppose France, his traditional enemy. He even hoped to marry Elizabeth. This foresight on the part of the Council was no inconsiderate dream, for almost at once Philip helped to make Paul IV hold his hand. His ambassador, Feria, urged him in no half-hearted way to prevent the Pope making any hurried pronouncement, and thus, while political questions were solving themselves in a somewhat ambiguous fashion, the religious problem was made less complicated without a papal bull. A royal proclamation forbade any alterations, and Cecil took care that S. Paul's Cross should not at once ring with any fiery eloquence. The mild Dr. Bill, the Queen's Chaplain, preached a "goodly sermon," the first Sunday of the reign. Events, however, hastened matters more than might otherwise have happened. Christopherson, Bishop of Chichester, delivered an injudicious sermon which was followed a fortnight later by a somewhat unwise discourse by White of Winchester at Mary's funeral. These utterances outlined the hopes of the Marian party, and the authorities thought it best to confine the bishops lest they might further complicate the situation, which however was becoming clearer by the evident joy of the people. Doubtless, too, many of the wealthier class came out on the side of reform from the peace and seclusion for which they had been willing to pay Mary's legal officials.

Return
of the
exiles.

This growing loyalty, however, was not destined to develop along lines of patience and wisdom. The "wolves" of Bishop White's sermon, receiving as they thought favourable news from England,

began to return from their continental exile, doubtless a merciful relief to the inhabitants there. Early in December the first batch had arrived in England, and before long the religious atmosphere was thick with all the warring elements of foreign theology. Strassburg, Frankfort and Geneva sent their hostile contingents. Meanwhile those who delayed their return, such as Whittingham at Geneva, preparing an edition of the Bible, and Foxe at Basle, bringing out his Latin edition of his *Martyrology*, supplied the country with unsolicited and patronizing theological literature. Things soon reached such a pass of riot and debate that a proclamation was issued forbidding all preaching, but allowing the Gospels, Epistles, and Ten Commandments in English and the Litany, with the offensive reference to the Bishop of Rome deleted, "until consultation may be had by Parliament, by Her Majesty and her three estates of the realm for the better conciliation and accord of such causes as at present are moved in matters and ceremonies of religion."

Already suggestions were before the Council, which are of the utmost importance in the light of the future settlement and also as illustrating the current policy of the Government, fully intent on "handling religion warily," as Waad wisely put it, "for it requires great cunning and circumspection both to reform religion and to make unity." This contribution to assist the Council has received little recognition at the hands of historians, an omission singularly unjust considering the excellent summing up of the situation left by Mary and the suggestion that considerate patience should characterize their policy. The two most important papers, however, are *The*

**Suggestions
for
legislation.
(i) Waad.**

(ii) "De-
vice for
alteration
of
Religion."

Divers points of Religion contrary to the Church of Rome, and The Device for the alteration of Religion. It is best to deal with the latter first as its influence was the more permanent. It is not clear who drew it up, but its author was evidently a man of discriminating foresight and constructive audacity. It is divided into three sections. The first advises an alteration at the next Parliament. The second deals with the dangers to be considered—the Bishop of Rome will excommunicate, France and Scotland will be encouraged, the Marian officials, bishops and clergy will think themselves discredited and use their influence against reform, some will oppose the necessary subsidy; many will be offended if the changes do not go beyond "a cloaked papistry or a mingle mangle." The third suggests remedies—practice peace with France, and Scotland will follow; give no clemency to the Marian party before they fully accept the law; penal enactments must, if necessary, be brought to bear on the bishops and clergy to make them abjure the Pope, and conform to the new régime; unlawful assemblies must be forbidden; and when the new book comes out it must be accompanied by "straight laws" in order that the excess of those who would drive reformation too far may be nipped in the bud. The fourth division deals with the manner of alteration—a committee is to be appointed to consult on the book and bring a copy of it to the Queen, meanwhile there are to be no innovations, except it be communion in both kinds. "A mess of meat" is to suffice for the committee and their servants, "where provision may be laid in wood, coals, and drink." Parker was among those suggested. In this paper, the problem was

astutely analysed. The two opposing forces of the future are already seen on the horizon, and the penal legislation of the coming Parliament is concisely outlined. Other items fall into their place in history, a committee, for example, seems to have been appointed to revise the Prayer Book. *The Divers Points*, by Richard Gooderick, does not possess so much interest. The bishops were to be threatened with *praemunire*; the coming Parliament would be too soon to deal with religion, and it would suffice for the present to repeal the heresy laws which Mary had revived in her third Parliament. Changes should be slow: the English Litany would be far enough, and the royal chapel might present a moderate and safe attitude by the omission of the Elevation and seeing that at every Mass some should communicate with the priest in both kinds. As regards the clergy, certain should be licenced to preach who could be trusted not to stir up faction, and clerical marriage should be tolerated. Some of the suggestions were acted upon, but the most interesting is the advice to proceed warily as to Rome and to continue the English agent there, bidding him refuse any invitation to see the Pope, excusing himself because a great and important embassage was coming. A letter to this effect seems to have been sent to Sir Edward Carne, the agent, and Gooderick's suggestion lies at the bottom of the early relations between Paul and Elizabeth. We have here another instance of diplomacy, the first link in the chain of historical evidence, which goes to overthrow the common idea that Paul ever pronounced Elizabeth illegitimate or publicly attacked her for schism or that the Queen was influenced towards the Reformation by Papal

(iii) "The
Divers
Points of
Religion."

insults or threats. Gooderick's advice was also followed in the royal chapel at Christmas. The celebrating bishop, usually identified with Oglethorp of Carlisle, was ordered to omit the Elevation, and on his refusal the Queen left the Chapel, taking care that her orders were obeyed on the following days. Thus events progressed slowly, and the Marian bishops as yet shewed a bold public front, partly because they still hoped for no pronounced breach with Rome, and partly because ecclesiastical matters had not passed much beyond the members of the Council. Feria found this secret procedure suspicious, and reported how difficult it was for him to obtain accurate information because Parry, Cecil and Bedford governed the kingdom. In this he was not far wrong ; but he was much mistaken in thinking that Wotton, the Dean of Canterbury, now in Flanders, a man on whom the hopes of the papists had early centred, should be the new archbishop. When it seemed time to decide that difficult question, Elizabeth, Cecil, and Bacon turned aside from papists and exiles to choose their early associate—Matthew Parker.

Parker's
call to the
primacy.

The story of Parker's call to the primacy is one of the most beautiful in Church history, and it will recall a somewhat similar episode in the life of S. Anselm. Seldom has a *nolo episcopari* been uttered with more sincerity, and we are fortunate in possessing the whole history, which extends over some months. Early in December, Bacon summoned Parker to London, for certain matters touching himself which he trusted would turn to his good, telling him that in case he could not be found to resort to Cecil and explain the letter. Mindful of Bacon's friendship

and fearing that he would seek to advance him, Parker wrote a lengthy reply. He was now in ill-health and dare not trust himself to travel; but knowing the good care Cecil and he had for his welfare, he begged them not to give him anything beyond his ability, by which he should disappoint their trust in him, and especially fail in his duty to God by undertaking what he could not perform. His little talent was best suited "to dispense God's reverend word amongst the simple strayed sheep of God's fold in poor destitute parishes and cures more meet for my decayed voice and small quality than in theatrical and great audience, which walk and wish I should be nigh the quarters where we both were born." If he might venture to hope for something more, it would be to spend his time at Cambridge, "the state whereof is miserable at this present." His heart, indeed, lay there, and he would prefer Corpus Christi College and its small income to any rich preferment. If these could not be managed, he desired to be quite forgotten, and not "entangled in any respect of public living." Finally he offered to meet Bacon at his country seat. Cecil now took the matter up, and wrote him to hurry at once to London, as the Queen was mindful to use his services in certain matters of importance which would be declared to him on his arrival. This summons was supplemented by another letter from Bacon telling him of the weighty matters destined for him and urging the journey if his health permitted. Parker now came to London, preached at S. Paul's Cross, and was evidently told the Queen's intentions concerning him. On his return to Cambridge he wrote to Bacon giving him his ideal of an archbishop. He

must not be arrogant, for that would "discourage his fellows to join with him in unity of doctrine which must be their whole strength"; nor faint-hearted, for he would be "too weak to commune with the adversaries who would be stouter on his pusillanimity"; nor covetous, a man "not worth his bread, profligate for no estate in any Christian commonwealth to serve it rightly." He was anxious not to grieve his friends, but he feared lest their zeal should endanger friendship, and his "obstinate untowardness jeopard him into prison." Yet he would bear prison with a quiet conscience rather than risk accepting a position which he knew he could not fill. Besides, as he was poor and infirm, and though mindful of the trust given him by his late mistress, Queen Anne, to serve her daughter, he thought that that service would best be accomplished at Cambridge, whence he could come at times, if the Queen so desired, to preach in London. There the matter rested for a time, as doubtless Bacon was too busy with parliamentary matters. But in May he returned to his efforts, and frankly told Parker that no man fitted his description better than himself. He must come to Court and know the rest. In despair, Parker appealed to the Queen herself. He acknowledged his duty to her, but pleaded his great unworthiness for such a high office, and besought her on his knees not to promote him to a place where his lack of wit, learning, and experience, besides his bodily health, would hinder him from filling it to God's glory, and the good of the Queen and people. He deeply regretted because of their early friendship that he was so "basely qualified" as not to be able to rise to her expectations of him, but in some smaller and

humbler sphere he would endeavour to serve her. Protests, however, were useless, and he was duly elected Archbishop of Canterbury on August 1, 1559. By his unwillingness to undertake a great and responsible work Parker must not be counted with the man

"Che feci per viltate ñ gran rifiuto."

We may reverently place him with Moses, Isaiah and Jeremiah. He felt something of the ancient shudder which held them back at difficult and ambiguous moments in the purposes of God. But once the call was clear he entered as they did into the life from which he shrank, and was willingly satisfied to bear his part in the great and mysterious Councils. There was certainly no one better qualified to guide the English Church at this crisis in history. No one grasped better the theological and historical position. He united in his character gentleness, moral courage, sincerity and scholarship, and if he brought to his tremendous task neither genius nor experience, he at least could offer the no less invaluable powers of singleness of aim, sincerity of purpose, and a keen sense of responsibility to God and to the Church.

Meanwhile his interest in the progress of the Reformation, especially at Cambridge, continued, and he strongly advised a visitation there. Subsequently he was one of the commissioners which visited Cambridge. This commission repealed Pole's code of statutes, and restored almost entirely those given by the Edwardine visitors. Few details have survived, but a considerable number of heads of Colleges were deprived, the relics of the previous reign were destroyed, and the funds used to endow

On the
Commis-
sion to visit
Cambridge.

the old religion were transposed to the increase or foundation of scholarships. A set of injunctions was administered which significantly allowed the members of Colleges in Holy Orders to supply the Cambridge churches now destitute of ministers. Parker also viewed with some anxiety the general difficulties set before the Government, especially the importation of foreign theological literature. Their course was dangerous among the growing number of warring elements. "As for the Romish adversaries, their mouths may be stopped with their own books and confessions of late days."

The
Coronation.

However, for the moment, there was peace before the preparations for the coronation. This event postponed the battle, but lent it greater force when it came, as neither extreme was satisfied with the arrangements. To the one it made all the difference that parts of the Mass were in English, and that the Elevation was omitted. To the other these concessions were as nothing with the hierarchy in their vestments, and a papal bishop performing the actual coronation. Both parties saw that their hopes were not to be realized, and the whole circumstances lent weight to the previous course of events with a *via media* as their goal. It gradually became clear that the motive power of the reconstruction lay neither in the papal ideals nor in the new fangled theories of continental reformers, but deep down in the national love for truth strengthened by an appeal to the apostolic and primitive Church.

[AUTHORITIES.—Strype, *Annals* ; Dixon, Vol. v ; Frere, *A History of the English Church in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I* ; Dom Birt, *The Elizabethan Religious Settlement* ; Creighton, *Queen Elizabeth*. The various proclamations are in Wilkins' *Concilia* ; Cardwell, *Documentary Annals* ;

Dyson, *Proclamations* ; Hardy and Gee, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*. Waad's paper (on which I hope shortly to publish an Essay in the *English Historical Review*), is in *S. P. Dom.*, *Eliz. I*, 66, and in Gee, *Elizabethan Prayer Book*. For Christopherson's Sermon see *Zurich Letters*, and for White's, Strype, *Ecc. Mem.*, App. lxxxix. *The Divers Points* is in *S. P. Dom. Eliz. I*, 68, and see Dixon. *The Device* is in *Cotton MSS.*, Julius, F. VI, 167, and printed from this source in Strype. It has been printed in Pocock's edition of Burnet from *Yelverton MSS.*, xxxix. (In possession of Lord Grimthorpe.) For Paul IV and Queen Elizabeth see *English Historical Review* xv, 342, also the later numbers for the Coronation. For the Royal Chapel see Ellis, *Original Letters* ; Allen, *Answer to English Justice*. For the various reports of the Ambassadors see *The Spanish and Venetian Calendars*. For Parker and the Primacy see his *Correspondence*, Nos. xl-xiv, xl-vi, xi-liv. For the visitation of Cambridge see *S. P. Dom. Eliz. IV*, 34, and Lamb, *Original Letters*. Machyn, *Diary* (Camden Society) ; Lignard, Vol. iv ; Bridgett, *The Story of the Anglican Hierarchy* ; Saunders, *De Schismate* have also been largely used.]

CHAPTER VIII

SUPREMACY AND UNIFORMITY

It is difficult to form any idea of the balance of religious parties in Elizabeth's first Parliament. The spiritual estate was of one mind and prepared to present a solid front to any attack on the Roman jurisdiction. The temporal peers were doubtful, and the Protestant extremists feared that the episcopal influence would cause many of them to waver. As regards the House of Commons, no convincing evidence is forthcoming on which to base any religious division. The returns are very incomplete. It may reasonably be said that the Government used influence to procure men favourable to its programme, but there is not sufficient evidence to support the sweeping statement of Dom Birt that it was a packed and subservient Parliament which imposed its will on an unwilling majority. Foreign disgrace and religious persecution certainly helped by Court influence succeeded in reducing the old Marian members to a small group, but a careful examination of the history seems to show that Elizabeth exerted no more pressure than any Tudor monarch, and indeed perhaps less.

**Opening of
Parliament.**

Two ambiguous actions lay on the threshold of the session, and qualified one another. The title Supreme Head was dropped in the writs summoning Parliament, and an innocent but deliberate "&c." took its

place. Cecil had evidently considered the question fully, as nothing escaped his watchful eye. A note by him to the effect "Commission to make out writs for Parliament : touching "&c." in the stile of writs " proves that the dropping of the old title was quite intentional. The uncompromising "&c." would serve any purpose, as events turned out, and could be interpreted accordingly. On the other hand, the customary Mass of the Holy Spirit was said early in the morning, and Parliament opened with the Litany, and a sermon probably by Cox. The Government proposals were outlined in a speech by Lord Keeper Bacon. Opinions differ as to the exact words used, but it is tolerably certain that he suggested legislation for a uniform order of religion, for reforming and avoiding mischief and for solving the financial situation. He also advised moderation in debate, and the laying aside of all violent epithets, such as heretic, schismatic and papist.

It is unnecessary to discuss in detail the minor legislation. Tenths and first fruits were restored once more to the Crown, as Waad had suggested in his paper, and a drastic measure was passed enabling the Queen to exchange the lands of a vacant see for a return of previously confiscated but deteriorated Church property. This act may in a degree be laid at Waad's door. He had proposed "to take away from the bishops the title of 'Lord,' their places in the Parliament . . . their stately houses," to reduce their large incomes to amounts paid by the shire in which they resided, and to seize their temporalities. The Marian religious houses were also dissolved. The main battle, however, centred round the Bills of Supremacy and Uniformity. Early in the session,

Attempts at
legislation.

after the failure of a similar measure, a new Supremacy Bill was introduced on February 28th, in the face of a resolution passed by the Upper House of Convocation that to the Apostle Peter and his successors as Vicars of Christ was given the supreme authority of feeding and ruling the church militant of Christ. This new bill met with violent opposition, some of the lay peers supporting the bishops, especially against the penal sections imposing the Second Prayer Book of 1552. These sections had been added to the Supremacy Bill, owing to the failure of two liturgical measures which had in view a more drastic reform. The Government had to be content once more to abandon legislation dealing with a new service book. Even then Archbishop Heath of York spoke unreservedly against the bill, and while conceding that Paul IV "hath declared himself to be a very austere, stern father unto us," yet he could lend no support to the rejection of the papal jurisdiction nor accept the Queen as "supreme head of the Church of England immediate and next under God." Scott of Chester supported the Archbishop and laboured to prove the claims of Rome. In spite of all the bill passed, leaving however the liturgical changes unsettled. But Elizabeth was in no hurry to accept it. A royal proclamation provided for communion in both kinds in the parish churches during the Easter recess, urging as an excuse that the "statute now made in this last Parliament being of great length cannot be printed and published abroad nor any other manner of Divine Service for the communion of the Holy Sacrament (than that which is now used in the Church) can presently be established by any law until further time thereof may be had."

In the Royal Chapel the Mass was sung according to King Edward's use and given to the communicants by a priest vested in a surplice.

A bold attempt was now made to test popular opinion further. A public deputation between selected members of the papal and reforming parties was arranged at Westminster by order of the Council, doubtless influenced by pressure from outside quarters to educate the lay mind up to the changes contemplated. The questions proposed were the use of English in public worship, the sacrifice of the Mass and the rights of a national church to change rites and ceremonies. Everything pointed to a successful disputation, as popular feeling was already getting out of hand by impatience. Cecil, as usual, arranged the preliminaries. Unfortunately from the beginning the Marian bishops kicked against them. They came with no written arguments prepared as they had agreed to do, and claimed the right of reply. They were promised a further opportunity of reading their answer when the discussion was resumed, after the second proposition had been discussed with written answers on both sides. However, when the day came, they refused to abide by the decision of the previous assembly, and declined to continue in spite of protests by Heath, and Feckenham, Abbot of Westminster, who saw that their side was acting quite contrary to previous agreement. As a result, Bacon, the president, dissolved the assembly with the ominous words, "My Lords, since you will not read your writing, and will not that we should hear you, you may perhaps shortly hear of us." This veiled threat immediately took effect. The same evening White of Winchester and Watson of Lincoln, the two

The West-
minster
Disputa-
tion.

leading disturbers, were thrown into the Tower, while the remainder, except Feckenham, were confined to a certain area, and ordered to report themselves daily to the Council, in addition to being heavily fined for contempt. The following Sunday Bill read an official account of the conference at S. Paul's Cross. Although the whole thing ended in failure, yet the Government succeeded in lowering the papists in the public eye. For this the bishops seem largely to blame. There may have been some summary dealing with them towards the close, and the official accounts must be balanced by the report of the Spanish Ambassador, who alleged that their sense of piety was outraged by disrespect to the Blessed Sacrament. But when all the evidence is weighed, it seems clear that the whole incident was creditable to neither party, and that both were prepared to employ any method to gain the upper hand. But attention must be drawn to Heath's protest, which Dom Birt has singularly left out of consideration. His intervention in the debate must go a considerable way in adjusting the balance of right and wrong. Parker gathered together some of the papers read or to be read at this conference, and wrote down at the end of the first argument read the names of the disputants, amongst whom were Guest, Horne, Grindal, Cox, and Jewel, soon after to help him in the administration of the Church. This seems to have been his only connexion with the conference, and he does not seem to have been in London at the time. The conjecture that he was present and took an active interest in it is supported by no evidence.

When Parliament re-opened, the Supremacy Bill, to which the Queen had given no assent, again appeared,

but with a message from her to reconsider the statement of her official relationship to the Church. A new bill was therefore introduced. It had a difficult passage through the Commons, more than one-third of the members present voting against it. In the Lords the Bishops voted solid, supported by a few lay peers. The measure, however, became law and forms the Elizabethan Supremacy Act as we know it. The title, Supreme Head, disappeared from history and the Queen was acknowledged as "Supreme Governor of the realm as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as in temporal." A form of oath was provided which contained, in addition to the new definition of the royal supremacy, a declaration that no foreign power had any jurisdiction in England. The right of jurisdiction was vested in the Crown, but it was to be exercised through a body of ecclesiastical commissioners.

Re-opening
of Par-
liament.
Act of
Supremacy.

An equally difficult task was the provision of a new service book. The preliminaries are practically unknown. Strype has taken over the suggestion made in *The Device* and given it the reality of history. There is, however, no evidence to prove that the Committee there suggested, among whom was Parker, ever met, and still less for the statement that Guest was appointed to act as Parker's deputy owing to his illness. It is, however, round an undated letter written by Guest that most of our information gathers, as an undated state-paper stating that the Prayer Book was sanctioned by Convocation before being submitted to Parliament is obviously quite valueless. Guest's letter clearly belongs to this period. Attempts have been made to assign it to the last Edwardine revision, but the arguments against this

The New
Prayer
Book.

are almost conclusive. It fits well in with the liturgical bills which failed earlier in the session. Guest undoubtedly refers to a book drawn up by some body of revisers which went much beyond the second Prayer Book in the direction of continental reform. This draft book I am inclined to think was presented to Parliament in these earlier bills. The next link is a letter written by Sandys to Parker after the passing of the new Act informing him that the Second Prayer Book is "gone through," with certain changes bearing no resemblance to those mentioned in Guest's letter. Parker had been in London earlier in the year, and may have taken part in formulating the abortive draft service book. Sandy's information would therefore be of interest to him from his connexion with the project. This, however, can only be conjecture. Thus the extremists were disappointed. The new service book was the second book of Edward VI, with certain important changes, such as the blending together of the words of administration in the two Edwardine Books. Still more important were the alterations made without being specifically mentioned in the Act. The Black Rubric disappeared and with it a denial of the Real Presence, and provision was made that "such ornaments of the Church and of the ministers thereof shall be retained and be in use as was in the Church of England by authority of Parliament in the second year of King Edward VI until other order shall be taken therein by the authority of the Queen's Majesty under the great seal of England for Ecclesiastical causes or of the metropolitan of the realm." This proviso immediately appeared in the form of a rubric in the printed prayer books, and remained there in all subsequent editions

published during the reign. The Act was penal. All spiritual persons refusing to use the new book were to be deprived and be imprisoned, and the laity refusing to attend Church on Sundays and holy days were to be fined. The Marian members of the House of Lords made one last rally. Feckenham spoke at length against the bill. It is somewhat surprising that he was put forward, as his speech shewed deplorable ignorance of the history of liturgical reform in England, and contained statements which almost every member must have known to be inaccurate. He must have been aware that the change in public opinion all over the country was not "caused by preachers of this new religion," as preaching was absolutely forbidden. However, he shewed considerable skill in basing many of his arguments on the unfortunate contemporary phrase "new religion," by which the liturgical changes were designated. The only other speech which has survived was made by Scott of Chester, but it presents little interest either from a personal or historical point of view. The old papal arguments once more reappeared in all their dogmatic force of rigid conservatism and with all their lack of proportion. The necessary matter and form of the sacraments is so complicated that one is surprised that we read of no general faculties covering unintentional errors, as we do in the case of marriage. In spite of solid episcopal opposition, the Act of Uniformity passed into law ordering the use of the new service book generally on and after Midsummer day. But the zeal of the Londoners anticipated the date. The Prayer Book was ushered into all the parish churches there before the end of May amid scenes of wild and undisciplined iconoclasm and

sacrilege. Probably Sandys sent a copy of it to Parker, who drew up an elaborate comparison of it with the Second Prayer Book.

Legality of
the new
measures.

Too much time and energy has been expended in debating the legality of all this legislation. It is useless to say that it was apart from the Church, without considering the exact moment in history when it all happened. Strictly speaking, it should have had official ecclesiastical sanction, and the lack of this certainly proved a source of weakness in later years. On the other hand, it is well to remember that the official church had ceased to represent the Church of England, and it would have been an unfortunate clinging to the letter of the law had the opinions of the Church at large been sacrificed to a rigid custom which never has given full official sanction to them. There are many parallels in Church history for the State stepping in to tide the Church over a crisis when strict legality and "officialdom" would have alienated the vast majority of her children. It was unfortunate that the Marian bishops did not represent the Church, and it is to their honour that only one was a traitor. No party spirit can ever tarnish their constancy and determination. But it was a question of national approval, not of the limited approval of Convocation, and the after acceptance by the Church *in diffuso* confirmed the boldness of the State which refused to see the Church bound by an obscurantist conception of what is connoted by "the sanction of the Church." In a venture of faith, legalism must be contented to stand aside.

Enforcing
supremacy.

No time was lost in putting the Act of Supremacy into force. A Royal Commission, consisting entirely

of laymen, was appointed on May 23 to administer the oath, and they immediately began their work by tendering it to the bishops. It is unnecessary to follow in detail the course of their refusal. Before the end of the year all were deprived, except Kitchin of Llandaff. The case of Tunstall of Durham is most pathetic. Everything seems to point to the fact that he would have gone far in accepting the changes, but on his arrival in London, where he came in spite of his eighty odd years to interview the Queen and present her with some papers, he revolted against the spirit of destruction which had turned the city upside down. He wrote to Cecil protesting that he could never consent to similar violence in his diocese. Hopes were held out almost to the last that he would conform. He was sent to lodge with Parker at Lambeth, a "fit chamber" being provided for him and his servant. Although he was cut off from communication with his friends, he was kindly treated and well cared for. Parker for a time believed that he would accept the new régime, but finally he informed the Council with regret that his efforts had been in vain. At the end of September Tunstall was deprived with the promise of "some convenient pension in consideration of his reverend age." He did not, however, survive many weeks. He died at Lambeth on the 18th November. Parker provided for his burial in the Parish Church. Alexander Nowell preached a sermon worthy of the occasion, and Walter Haddon wrote a well-deserved epitaph. His papers intended for the Queen were sent to Cecil by Parker. They were "King Henry's testament and a book *Contra communicationem utruisque speciei*." It also fell to Parker's lot to

care for some others of the deprived bishops. Here his connexion with them ceased. A story has unfortunately been imported into history by Strype from a late seventeenth century source in which the deprived bishops are represented as sending to Parker "a letter terrifying of the reformed bishops and clergy of the Church of England with curses and other threatenings for not acknowledging the papal tribunal: this worthy father consulting with Her Majesty and the Council shewed the same an answer prepared which extremely pleased Her Majesty and the reformed party of her council." Parker's reply is also given in full. The whole story is apocryphal. Equally unreliable is the account drawn from the same source that Calvin suggested a "general assembly of all the Protestant clergy however dispersed," and that Parker, greatly interested and favourable, laid the matter before the Council and was directed by them to write a reply to this "desirable suggestion." It is well to redeem Parker's name as well as that of the Marian bishops from two such unworthy connexions.

**The Royal
Visitation.**

Meanwhile elaborate preparations were made for a Royal Visitation following the Henrician and Edwardine precedents. The kingdom was divided into sections, each being visited by a body of royal commissioners. All ordinary ecclesiastical jurisdiction was suspended. The main work of the visitors was to require subscription to the "*Suscepta Religio*," which comprehensive phrase included the acknowledgment of the ancient jurisdiction of the Crown, the abrogation of all foreign power contrary to the same, willingness to receive the new Service Book, and the Royal Injunctions—probably drawn up by

Cecil—which the visitors carried with them. It is not clear whether these commissioners were appointed under the requirements of the Act of Supremacy. The Injunctions were probably formulated before the Ecclesiastical Commission, of which Parker was a member, was called into being. These, however, are questions for lawyers, who of late years have inclined to the opinion that the Visitation and the Injunctions were not in conformity with the Act.

The Injunctions and Articles of Inquiry, although largely based on those of Edward VI, are invaluable because they lie behind much of the episcopal administration of the reign. Regular preaching was provided for. The people must be taught the Creed and the Ten Commandments in English. Each church must possess the great Bible, the Paraphrases of Erasmus, and a register book for baptisms, weddings and deaths. Provision was made for the relief of the poor and the maintenance of poor students at the Universities. The parochial clergy must be regularly examined in certain prearranged studies. Processions were to cease, but “perambulations” at Rogationtide were provided for. All monuments of superstition must be destroyed. Simony was forbidden. The clergy were not allowed to marry unless the ladies of their choice were approved of by the bishops and two justices of the peace. The Edwardine statute sanctioning clerical marriage had not been revived owing no doubt to Elizabeth’s well-known objections, and this injunction continued in working order at least till the middle of the reign. No schoolmasters were to exercise their calling without the Ordinary’s licence. Ample instruction was to be given to the children. Overseers must be appointed in every

Royal
injunctions
and
articles.

parish to see that the parishioners resorted to their church on Sundays and holy-days. The churchwardens must draw up inventories of their church goods. Plainsong was to be continued, but part music with hymns and anthems was permitted, provided the sense of the words was not rendered obscure. No books were to be published without licence. Due reverence was to be given at the Holy Name. Four elaborately drawn up appendices were added. The first explained at length the Royal Supremacy, as many people were perverting its meaning. The Queen claimed only the authority due under God of ancient time to the imperial crown. The others provided for the manner in which altars should be removed and that wafer bread "without any figure thereupon" should be used for the Holy Communion. The document concluded with a form of Bidding Prayer "for Christ's Holy Catholic Church." The visitors also requested returns of those who bought off persecution, of books burned and of martyrs under Mary. These Injunctions represent the general scheme enforced on all the clergy. But the commissioners frequently issued other orders on their own account, especially for cathedral bodies. For example, special sets exist for Salisbury, Wells, Exeter, Worcester and Hereford cathedrals.

Results of
the
Visitation.

The result of the visitation provides some knowledge of the state of public opinion. It must at once be conceded that a considerable body of the clergy refused to accept the new régime and were deprived. It is impossible to determine the exact numbers, as the complete returns are not forthcoming. Any study, therefore, of the subject must for the present remain inadequate. Even taking such returns as

exist, the numbers are comparatively small and no organized revolt took place on the part of the laity. Complaints about papal recusants—both clerical and lay—were no doubt handed in during the entire reign—sometimes a whole cathedral body remained true to the “old religion.” But, as it is an impossible method of history which would take the police court returns as a just criterion of national morals, so it is equally impossible to take deprivation and imprisonments as a foundation on which to build an accurate estimate of the national mind towards the Elizabethan reformation. It is this method which can paint a very deplorable picture of outraging consciences on an elaborate scale. A number of criminals damns an entire town or county, a number of papists makes an entire deanery or diocese loyal to Rome. Recent research from the Roman side has failed to convince us that the changes were not agreeable to the vast majority of clergy and laity.

Other matters are of more importance. Many of the churches were found in decay, and moral offences were unfortunately too frequent. In the vast majority of parishes the church vestments and ornaments, spite of Prayer Book and Act of Uniformity, were destroyed, and in London the old spirit of wanton vandalism broke out again in unrestrained licence. In the cathedrals, the visitors sanctioned special additional forms of morning prayer which were not covered by the Act of Uniformity. Out of this an interesting episode arose at Exeter. Some of the citizens, assisted by strangers from London, proceeded to sing metrical psalms at the morning service. In spite of a warning by the cathedral authorities

that they were breaking the Act, they continued their novel devotion. On appeal to the visitors, the Act was broadly interpreted, and the cathedral authorities were ordered not to interfere with the illegal form of service. The case was finally laid before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and Parker wrote to the Chapter confirming the decision of the visitors. It was unfortunate to give official recognition to the deplorable metrical psalms, but at the same time the episode affords valuable contemporary evidence of the elasticity of the Act of Uniformity.

The Ecclesiastical Commission.

During the progress of the Royal Visitation, Parker was busy, as we have seen, regulating religious affairs at Cambridge. On his arrival in London as a member of the Ecclesiastical Commission, which had been formed early in the summer, a much more difficult work lay before him. The royal visitors sent up to his care a considerable number of papal recusants, with whom he was ordered to use such persuasions as were likely to move them to conformity. This work increased when the Queen suspended the visitation, and placed the Ecclesiastical Commission on a permanent footing as the Court of High Commission. This court concluded the general survey, and then remained for upwards of a century to exercise the Crown's right of visitation, to enforce uniformity, to deal with ecclesiastical suits and to administer the oath of supremacy. Regular meetings now began at Lambeth Palace, full of difficult and trying business, and continued there throughout Parker's primacy. No court has a more invidious name in English Church history. There was no appeal from its decisions, it invaded the authority of the Church courts, and in later days became the

object of fierce attack for its high-handed dealings. Parker's chaplain has left us a record of the manner in which he carried out the arduous duty which was imposed upon him by the exigencies of the age. He was vigilant and moderate, taking care to examine the cases beforehand. He never browbeat anyone with vehement threats or words, and his judgments were grave and founded on sufficient evidence. It was, the same writer tells us, only the plots of the papists and the factions stirred up by the Protestants which compelled Parker to act in such a capacity. The vital necessity, as Bishop Stubbs writes, of preventing religious anarchy.

Meanwhile, the whole ecclesiastical machinery was out of work. Although several new bishops had been elected, as yet no effort had been made to consecrate them, and diocesan life was thus under no guiding control. The Royal Visitation, as in previous reigns, had upset the normal balance of ecclesiastical organization, but on this occasion it was much more deplorable because there were now no bishops to assume the reins of authority. Behind this delay lay no reasoned question of jurisdiction, no forlorn hope that the Marian bishops would assist at the consecrations. A far more mundane reason must be given. The Queen was taking advantage of the recent legislation, and replenishing her empty coffers by plundering the vacant sees. She issued a commission to laymen to survey the bishoprics and to arrange what lands she should seize, and what return should be given. Once again Parker drew up a protest, which the other bishops elect signed. They appealed to the Queen to follow worthy examples, and to abandon the proposed alteration. They

Unsatisfactory
state of the
Church.

offered her a thousand marks during her lifetime in lieu of the exchange and failing this arrangement they set out at length the evils that would follow. It was only "natural equity" that the vicarages of impropriated benefices offered in exchange should be made into just livings for the incumbents, and that chancels and mansion houses should be repaired. That, when the manors were withdrawn from the bishops, they should not be asked to provide men for the wars. That an equivalent compensation should be given for special perquisites and for parks and woods. That the patronage belonging to the manors exchanged should be reserved to the bishops. That due compensation should be given for tenths and rectories handed over to the Crown, and that legal remedies might be granted to recover arrears. That no rents might be returned for spiritual possessions, and that those due last Michaelmas might be paid to the bishops. One interesting item in this appeal discloses the extreme to which the Queen proposed to go. The bishops prayed her to continue the sees of the New Foundation which had been erected by her father. In addition to this memorial Cox by himself made a noble appeal, raising the matter to the highest level of Christian morality. The Queen replied to the barons of the Exchequer as though the transfer was the most natural thing in the world, and requested them to proceed with the exchange as speedily as possible, as the delay had caused the consecrations of the new bishops to be postponed. She was pleased to order that no lands should be taken which were reserved by the bishops for the maintenance of hospitality or contrary to the favourable meaning of the Act of Parliament. An

equal value in spiritualities was to be given in return for the temporalities received. Moved by the memorial, a paragraph was added to this royal letter by Cecil to the effect that out of the whole year's revenue due to her at Michaelmas she was pleased to grant half to the bishops "as your reward." Even with these concessions the exchange was far from equitable. Another memorial pointed out that the impoverishment of the bishops would hinder them from supporting learning, and that Mary had restored the lands taken in King Edward's time because she thought that it was sacrilege to retain them. Evil reports will circulate abroad and bring the course of the Reformation in England into ill-repute. But no Tudor sovereign yet was moved to consider results in lieu of immediate gain, and the exchange was speedily carried out. It is not clear how far the other bishoprics were affected, but a Lambeth manuscript shews that the Queen "of her favour" granted Parker a considerable sum out of the Michaelmas rents, and arranged the exchange of lands with no severe disadvantage to the see.

The momentous moment had now arrived for Parker's consecration. The literature which has grown up around it has been out of all proportion to the event itself. Perhaps no circumstance in latter day church history has provoked so much discussion and aroused such keen controversy, and this in the face of the fact that at every step the circumstances are more than proved by contemporary documents, and upheld by catholic tradition. It is unnecessary to delay here over the details which are discussed at length in the appendix,¹ as they have only a

Parker's
consecra-
tion.

¹ See Appendix II.

controversial interest. But the description of the consecration is worthy of reproduction. On December 17th, 1559, in the early hours of the morning, Parker entered Lambeth Chapel, his way being lighted by four taperers. Within all was ready. Barlow, Scory, Coverdale and Hodgkin took their seats on the south side. The archbishop-elect in his doctor's habit sat on the north. After Mattins, Scory preached a "not inelegant" sermon, at the conclusion of which Parker and the bishops left the chapel to prepare for the Holy Communion. With no delay they returned by the north door, Parker in a surplice, Barlow in a cope, as he was to celebrate with Bullingham, Archdeacon of Lincoln, and Guest, Archdeacon of Canterbury, also vested in copes, to assist him, Scory and Hodgkin in surplices, and Coverdale in his cassock. After the Gospel, Barlow took his seat before the Holy Table, and the three other bishops presented Parker to him in the usual manner. The writ was duly read and the oath duly taken. The service proceeded according to the Edwardine Ordinal, the four bishops laying their hands on Parker and repeating the crucial words in English, "Take the Holy Ghost and remember that thou stir up the grace of God which is in thee by imposition of hands, for God hath not given us the spirit of fear but of power and love and soberness." The new archbishop then communicated with the bishops and others who witnessed the ceremony. Parker's private record is brief: "On 17th of December, 1559, I was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. Alas, alas, O Lord God, for what times hast Thou kept me. Now am I come into deep waters and the flood hath overwhelmed me. O Lord, I am oppressed, answer

for me and strengthen me with Thy free spirit, for I am a man and have but a short time to live. Give me of Thy sure mercies."

Within a few months sixteen of the new sees were provided with bishops. Jewel went to Salisbury, too learned to give himself over to his foreign friends; Grindal to London, weak and vacillating; Parkhurst to Norwich, incapable and puritanical; Pilkington to Durham, violent and scholarly; Cox to Ely, bold and sincere; Sandys to Worcester, colourless and quarrelsome. To guide and control this comprehensive and untried bench was Parker, who revered tradition, but placed the Church and nation before the madness of extremes. No time was lost in attempting to supply the dioceses with clergy. Large ordinations took place frequently within the next few months, Parker himself ordaining one hundred and fifty on a single day. But even with these new clergy many of the parishes must have remained unserved had not Parker called into being an order of readers. At first they seem to have been ordained, but this disappears later, and they were merely appointed by episcopal authority "to read the order of service appointed with the Litany or Homily in the absence of the principal pastor." Like most provisional arrangements, this required further consideration, as some of the readers went beyond their special work. In course of time Parker drew up articles to which they were required to subscribe. They had to promise to confine themselves merely to the original work assigned to them, special permission being given to purify women, to bury the dead, and to keep the parish registers. They were forbidden to preach or to administer the Sacraments. Although

Consecra-
tions and
ordinations

readers are found as late as the middle of the reign, they were merely a temporary necessity to provide some sort of spiritual life for many parishes at a time of anxiety and difficulty, and many of them proved worthy subsequently to receive Holy Orders. Similarly, at a later date, Parker had to reconsider the whole question of the qualifications of candidates for the ministry, as many had been ordained, under the stress of circumstances, without proper discrimination and inquiry, whose life and work gave occasion for the adverse criticism of those opposed to the Church of England. He found it necessary to demand a higher intellectual qualification and to extend the period of probation in the diaconate.

**Parker's
outlook.**

Thus the organization of the Church was gradually restored, and Parker stepped out to undertake a task of almost overwhelming responsibility, and to steer a course amid circumstances exceedingly ambiguous and complicated. As Primate, he had to enforce a complex and in many respects an untried system. He had no experience as a bishop at a time when experience would have been invaluable. He had to hold the Church together amid the attacks of papists and protestants, the latter growing stronger as a religious force, as the former grew weaker and degenerated into political plot-hatchers. The outlook was singularly dark. Both extremes contained many degrees of opinion. The middle party knew nothing of Anglicanism as a reasoned logical position, and cannot have seen as yet anything in the religious settlement beyond a tactful arrangement made by the Government desirous of carrying with them the majority of the people. It was only beginning to realise all that had taken place and was lacking

in the strength of consolidation. The outlook was one to make men of vaster strength than Parker shudder and be dismayed. But he went out not merely as the scholar, who often as not fails to commend his own position, but with a firm belief that behind him lay the purposes of God and underneath him the firm foothold of truth. He realized the Anglican position at once and almost instinctively, but because he did so, he did not attempt to precipitate its course by forcing it hurriedly on men less capable by nature of grasping it quickly. Firm in his own convictions, he could deal gently and patiently with others. His strength lay in the proportion of his moral and intellectual manhood, and not in any abnormal developments. Adversity had taught him to respect convictions, but when these convictions attempted to overturn the position which was based on catholic continuity in either creed, sacrament or ministry, and to pervert Anglicanism into a judicious blend of incompatible ingredients, he knew how to be firm and immovable. It is from this standpoint alone that any adequate estimate can be formed of his primacy. We must enter into his life, realise the position which he held and see the outlook with his eyes.

[AUTHORITIES.—Strype, Dixon, Frere as before. For the Parliament see D'Ewes, *Journals of all the Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1682); Dom Birt, *l.c.*, *English Historical Review* (July, 1908). For the "&c." title see *ibid.*, Vol. xv., p. 120, *The Athenæum* (May 2, 1908), and *S. P. Dom* I, 3. For the convocation see Wilkins and Cardwell, *Synodalia*. For Heath's Speech see *Parker MSS*, cxxi, and Strype, *Annals*, App. vi. For Scott's Speech see *ibid.* No. vii. For the proclamation regulating services at Easter, 1559, see Gee, *Elizabethan Prayer Book*, App. ix, and for the Royal Chapel at that time see *Venetian Calendar*, p. 57. For the Westminster

Disputation see Dom Birt *l.c.*, *Parker MSS*, cxxi, *S. P. Dom. Eliz.* III, 51-53, Burnet and Wriothesley. For the Prayer Book, see Proctor and Frere, *New History of B. C. P.* *Parker Correspondence*, No. xlix; Feckenham's Speech in *Annals*, App. ix; Convocation, *Report on Ornaments Rubric* (1907); the Expert Evidence before the *Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Disorders* (1906). For the Commission to administer oath, see Rymer, xv, 519. For Parker's relationship to Tunstall see *Correspondence*, Nos. lxiii-lxv. For Tunstall, see *Dic. Nat. Biog.*, *S. P. Dom. Eliz.* vi, 22, Cooper *l.c.*, and compare *Spanish State Papers*. For the Apocryphal Stories, see *The Hunting of the Romish Fox*. For the Royal Visitation, see Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy* and Dom Birt *l.c.* For the special Cathedral Injunctions see *Parker MSS.*, cxx. For Exeter see Reynolds, *The Use of Exeter*, and *Parker Correspondence*, No. lxxv. For clerical licences to marry, see *Parker Register* I, ff. 205, 298, and Kempe, *Loseby MSS.*, p. 254. For the Ecclesiastical Commission see *S. P. Dom. Eliz.* VII, 79, and Rymer, xv, 546. Drake *l.c.*, and *Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Courts*. For the Queen's dealings with vacant sees, see *S. P. Dom. Eliz.* vi, 42, *Parker Correspondence*, Nos. lxviii and lxix, *Annals* i, 1, p. 140. For Parker's Consecration and the various consecrations and ordinations, see *Parker Register*. For late examples of Readers see *Grindal Register*.]

CHAPTER IX

THE BEGINNING OF PARKER'S TASK

THE political outlook was as threatening as ever. The Queen continued to take advantage of Philip's position in European affairs, and to maintain a friendship with him, which, as was well known to both parties, was based on no element of reality. It suited the King of Spain to ally himself with a nation now broken away from Rome and the religious ties which held him most firmly, because he was thus enabled to present a bold front to France. To Elizabeth this arrangement was eminently satisfactory, for as long as Philip was on her side she knew that the Pope would not be in a hurry to pronounce against her and thus complicate the internal government of the country by lending the papists a sufficient reason for combining openly against her. In France grave religious troubles were evident. The reforming party was gathering strength and the question of alliance with them might arise at any moment. A similar problem was presented by the growth of wild reforming zeal in Scotland under the influence of Knox, which might lead to a breach with France, and make an English alliance a matter of ease. Elizabeth was therefore content to continue her early policy, letting the religious struggles in other countries guide her plans. It was undoubtedly due to the discrimination of Cecil that this plan worked as successfully as it

Foreign
policy.

did, but on the other hand it made it more difficult than ever to direct ecclesiastical affairs at home, as each fluctuation of the balance elsewhere affected them in a considerable degree. The characteristic statecraft of the Queen, if it worked out well in the issue, often succeeded at the moment in raising the hopes of each faction in turn and thus increased the work of discipline and government. But it was well that this should be so. Although the Queen was quite unconscious that any real benefit was being gained for the Church at the time from her foreign policy, yet it helped to make things clearer and to bring out the veiled hints and secret hopes of both sides into open and declared politics. Thus Parker was enabled to know friend from foe and to form some estimate of those on whom he could rely, which he was well-nigh incapable of doing as long as different ideals had not been emphasized by any public or definite action.

Dispute
over
ceremonial.

Almost immediately the services in the royal chapel served this purpose. All along both sides had watched with anxious interest the ceremonial and ornaments in use there. To the papists they formed a basis for hope, to the protestants they became the cause of much heart-searching, frequent correspondence and apparently insurmountable stumbling-blocks. The altar, with its cross and lights, the royal chaplains in chasuble or cope seemed to the Marian party, incapable of discriminating between full subscription to the Pope and the mere details of worship, sufficient reason for believing that their cause was not hopeless. This is well exemplified in John Marshall's *Treatise of the Cross*. He gathered together the scattered hopes of his

brethren under the broad reason that "Her Majesty was so well affected to the Cross . . . and had always kept it reverently in her chapel, notwithstanding many measures had been made to the contrary by the privy suggestions and open sermons of such as, without order of law and authority given by express command of Her Majesty (as it is thought), have in all churches, chapels, oratories, highways and other places of her most noble realm thrown down the sign of the Cross and the image of our Saviour Christ, and in most despitful manner abused it, and in common assemblies have called it an idol and keepers of the same idolators." On the other hand, the returned exiles, equally incapable of seeing with proportion, were sending reports to their friends on the Continent, that the cause of their religion was hindered by the ceremonial and services in the royal chapel—bishops in the papistical vestments, an altar with the cross and lights, the Lord's Supper with no sermon, all the relics of idolatry. How could the pure gospel make progress hampered by such a prominent example of unreformed worship! Martyr and Bullinger praised the wholesome zeal of their anxious friends, and could not encourage a compromise with regard to images. Another protest, usually assigned to Parker and his brethren, but written from internal evidence by someone else, was drawn up to persuade the Queen to leave matters until decided by a synod or convocation. Parker, however, was undoubtedly disturbed over the royal chapel and used his influence some months before his consecration to persuade the Queen to moderate the ceremonial there. Whatever may have been the details of Parker's effort at this time, it must be

remembered that the Queen had behind her the Act of Uniformity, which provided for the use of these ornaments, and that the royal chapel was perhaps the one place in the kingdom where the law was fully obeyed. On the other hand, the popular mind had been led to believe that the old ornaments were no longer to have a place in the Church of England because they were almost all destroyed during the Royal Visitation: not indeed as illegal but as "monuments of superstition," the people gladly handing them over as unwelcome memorials of a worship so intimately bound up in their memory with repression and persecution. If anything is to be read into Parker's early protest it would seem to be that he saw the inconsistency of the position and the complications to which it might lead. But the Queen was hardly likely to be moved by any such arguments, as she was coquetting with a new Roman Catholic suitor, and her foreign policy more perhaps than her religious convictions, and certainly more than possible domestic troubles, determined her line of action.

**Renewal of
the con-
troversy.**

Here the question rested, doubtless overshadowed by the pressure of consecrations and the anxiety of getting the ecclesiastical machinery into work again. But it was soon prominent again. Three bishops received orders to officiate in the royal chapel as priest, deacon and subdeacon, possibly in copes, but certainly at an altar with lights and candles. Cox, "prostrate and with wet eyes," protested and drew up a series of considerations to persuade the Queen, the reforming zealots abroad helped to swell the opposition by turning the weight of their opinions on the side of resistance. There was some fear lest

the Queen should demand a restoration of crosses in all the parish churches, and the Spanish Ambassador even reported to his royal master that such an order had been given. As usual, Elizabeth arranged to have a disputation in order to see how the land lay. Parker and Cox opposed Jewel and Grindal in an argument, not about the old question of the cross, but as to the advisability of restoring in some prominent place in the churches the Rood and Holy Family. It would thus seem that the smaller matter of the Queen's cross developed into a much larger question. Parker was willing to support the Queen because his whole policy was on the side of authority, and Cox, influenced by the opinion of his friend Cassander in favour of the cross, took his stand with Parker. The rest of the bishops were apparently with Jewel and Grindal, and expected deprivation for their zealous opposition. The result of the debate does not seem to have been satisfactory. The Queen still retained her cross, and the extreme party were content to leave her alone as the policy of restoring the Rood and Holy Family was not followed up, and it was something in their eyes to be saved from such a general set-back. No sooner, however, had some agreement been come to about ornaments than the old struggle of Edward VI's reign broke out again over vestments. Although the full Eucharistic vestments had the sanction of the Act of Uniformity, yet there was little hope that they would be acceptable to those who soon found the surplice a dangerous relic of idolatrous worship. Further difficulties set in when the exiles saw that they could no longer go about like mere laymen, but must wear the outside garb of the "sacrificuli." It would be wearisome

to enter at length into a question which has taken up so much time and energy. The opposition to the vestments was so universal that there does not seem to have been any serious intention of demanding the full letter of the law, while a practical difficulty somewhat similar to that about the ornaments arose, as the vast majority of churchwardens had already handed over their vestments to the royal visitors along with other relics of superstition. Sandys had seen ahead and reported to Parker after the passing of the Act of Uniformity that he and his friends interpreted the law widely, and that no pressure would be brought on them to wear the vestments which were retained only as the Queen's property. This was an opinion which had gradually gained strength. But if Sandys meant to include surplices and copes and that the Ornaments rubric, by this time incorporated in the Prayer Book, was completely abrogated, he was not such a complete seer as history has frequently made him. Concessions, however, were at once evident. While the cope remained in somewhat wide use, Parker with his assistants performed a newly drawn up Dirge in English at the obsequies of Henry II in square cap, hood and gown. In Lent many of the bishops preached in rochet and chimere, which previously had formed their out-door dress. For the moment advice from abroad counselling patience prevented a serious complication, and Parker was given time to consider what line of action he would propose to his brethren.

State of the
country.

The country at large reflected the fluctuations in higher circles. In Durham things "were far out of order in matters of religion," "the face of the Church was blemished with ignorance and licentious living,"

and much superstition reigned contrary to the order taken for religion. In Chichester the Cathedral body was giving no small trouble. Some of the dioceses still remained vacant and presented sad pictures of spiritual neglect. Many of the clergy conformed outwardly hoping for better things. With the lack of discipline "the realm had become full of Anabaptists, Arians, Libertines, Free-will men." The dearth of clergy and accurate instruction on the state of affairs served to make matters worse, as every item of unauthentic gossip that trickled through from London was twisted and turned to party purposes. Constant reports were reaching Parker or the Government of the difficulties which the bishops had to face, and Parker therefore determined to hold a metropolitical visitation of his province as the best method of meeting the situation. Inhibitions were sent out in the spring of 1560 to the diocesan bishops forbidding them to visit, and suspending their ordinary powers according to the prescriptive right and custom which allowed the archbishops of Canterbury to visit the Southern province. Serious reasons, however, caused Parker to postpone the actual visitation to the autumn. The clergy and people alike were so pressed with continual visitations and the immoderate exactions of procurations and other burdens that to the great scandal of their state and ministry they had scarcely wherewithal to buy food and raiment. Parker therefore thought it advisable to seek the prosperity and tranquillity of the whole province by not only prohibiting his suffragans, who now intended to visit, from doing so, but also by deferring the general visitation to some more convenient time. Other reasons emphasized

the necessity for delay. The Royal instructions required more adaptation to diocesan life, though destined to form the basis for all episcopal visitations during the reign, and it was equally clear that some body of dogmatic articles should be drawn up.

**Prepara-
tions for
the
Visitation.**

For this purpose, Parker apparently called the bishops together and formulated a document entitled *Declarations of Injunctions and Articles for Ministers and Readers*, commonly known as *The Interpretations*, which without being an official series of injunctions, had episcopal authority behind it and was largely used in forming the administrative policy of the bishops. Parker carefully revised and corrected the items, before a fair copy was drawn out probably by Cox. It is divided into seven sections. The first deals with the Royal Injunction. Preaching was further regulated and enforced, while the visitors' licences were withdrawn. The original injunction concerning the regular examination of the clergy was made practical by ordering the archdeacons to appoint certain portions of the New Testament for study in one visitation and for examination in the next. The Litany and Suffrages and a Homily of thanksgiving were added to the provision made for the Rogation "perambulation." Shops were closed, manual work, fairs and common markets forbidden on Sundays. Catechisms and Homilies were to be formulated for the defence of the vernacular service and the rights of national churches. The old outward apparel was enforced under the penalties of deposition and sequestration. Incurable Arians, Pelagians, and Free-willmen were to be sent to some castle in Wales or Wallingford and there to live by their own labour and

exercise until they repented their errors, alone with their keepers. The next section dealt with the Service Book and contained an item of especial importance. Parker had now considered the question of the vestments. It was clear that the full legal demands could not be enforced, and indeed there was no desire to do so. However willing he might have been, it would have been impossible in the face of the Elizabethan ideal of holding the nation together in a national and comprehensive Church. Concessions were due to a great and growing party. At the same time, Parker had no intention of surrendering completely such decency in public worship as would not only have robbed the Church services of some traditional link with the past, but given the individualistic extremist greater concessions than the accepted Church polity warranted. He arranged, therefore, that the cope should be used at the celebration of the Holy Communion, doubtless to conciliate the Queen, and the surplice at all other ministrations. Within a short time, however, it became evident that the compromise was a failure and the battle raged as keenly round the surplice as ever it did round chasuble and cope. The avowed aim of the extremists was to eliminate distinctive apparel within the Church. Another concession was made in allowing the Holy Table to be removed out of the choir into the body of the church before the chancel gates at the time of celebration. The holy-days ordered by the late Act of Edward VI were ordered to be kept. The age for admission to the Holy Communion was regulated at twelve or thirteen. This, however, seems to have been left to the discretion of individual bishops, as we find instances where seven years was

considered a suitable age. Greater care was exercised about Holy Orders, the period of the diaconate being lengthened and a higher intellectual standard being demanded. All the old canonical impediments to Holy Orders were to remain in force as well as the canonical dispensations. A form of doctrinal articles was to be prepared and read by the clergy on first entering into their benefices and afterwards twice a year "for avoiding all doubt, and suspicion of varying from the doctrine determined in this realm." This order evidently bore fruit in a document called *A Declaration of certain principal Articles of Religion* which was drawn up and set out by the archbishops and bishops and ordered to be read according to the resolution. This *Declaration*, consisting of eleven items, affirmed the doctrine of the Trinity, the sufficiency of the canonical scriptures and the three Creeds, the rights of national churches, the necessity for a duly ordained ministry, the justness of the royal supremacy, the catholicity of the Prayer Book, the primitive custom of communion under both kinds, and denied the papal claim to universal jurisdiction, the mediæval theory of the Mass, and the extolling of images, relics, and feigned miracles. Argument and speculation were avoided. Parker sent a copy to all his suffragans, requiring them to enforce it on their clergy, and promising his support in case of refusal to read it. Grindal evidently had difficulties in London and proceeded to deprivation. This *Declaration* interested the Spanish Ambassador, who fondly supposed that Parker and his brethren were preparing a statement of their faith for the Council of Trent. Such an idea was very far from the bishops' minds. The clever and severe test of having

it read publicly every year long survived the Articles of 1563. Other sections of the *Declarations of the Injunctions, &c.*, dealt with burial, matrimony and the collation of benefices, and in the final division a series of twenty-three dogmatic articles in Latin was provided for subscription by all the clergy, in which there appears for the first time in such a document the declaration borrowed from the Westminster Conference of 1559 that a particular church has power of instituting, changing and abrogating rites and ceremonies. These Latin articles were used in diocesan administration, but were soon superseded by the English set above described. A series of articles for readers previously mentioned concluded the document. It would seem that Parker wrote to the Queen hoping that she would not disapprove of what he had devised in consultation with the other bishops "for uniform and quiet ministration of religion." The Queen appears to have left the bishops to themselves and not given any formal sanction, a course which largely characterized her ecclesiastical policy.

Meanwhile Parker's projected visitation had begun all over the Southern Province. It was at once evident that the delay had not simplified matters and that there existed many protestants and papists in every diocese, who were now well out of hand. Parker's Articles of Inquiry for the cathedrals and dioceses not only follow the ordinary episcopal inquiries, but bear witness to the religious struggle. Were the deans and other members of the cathedral body resident and duly ordained? Was the legal apparel worn and preaching faithfully performed? Were the Royal Injunctions and cathedral statutes

The Metro-
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Visitation.

obeyed? Was the grammar school well maintained according to the foundation ordinances? Were the accounts duly drawn up and passed? Were all the members of the cathedral, from the dean down to the choristers, sound in doctrine and free from any error and sedition, such as denying the royal supremacy and the rights of local churches; extolling any superstitious religion, relics, lighting of candles, kissing, kneeling, or decking of images, prayer in an unknown tongue and trust in any number of *Pater Nosters*; maintaining Purgatory, private Masses, trentals, or any other fond fantasies founded by man and not grounded in God's word; denying infant baptism and that sin after baptism could not be forgiven; affirming that any man lived without sin, that it was unlawful to swear before a civil magistrate, that valid ordination was necessary for the ministry, and that clerical marriage was contrary to God's Word. Was there any simony prevalent? Was the cathedral in good repair with the necessary ornaments and books? Were there any houses alienated, sold, pulled down or converted to private use? In addition Parker issued special Injunctions to Canterbury Cathedral, ordering the wearing of University hoods over the surplice in choir, regular sermons by the six preachers peculiar to Canterbury, a celebration of the Holy Communion on the first Sunday of every month at the least, the removal of all monuments of idolatry, and that certain "wicked and slanderous verses painted where Thomas Becket sometime Archbishop of Canterbury was wont to be honoured" should be clean defaced. If Becket's memory was to suffer, equally so Pole's. The prebendaries and minor canons reported to Parker that "it was neither

decent nor tolerable but abominable and not to be suffered " that the Cardinal's arms and hat should remain in the Cathedral. The articles for the Dioceses also illustrate the changes. No longer were missals, antiphoners, grailes, and such like required, but a Book of Common Prayer, a Bible, the Homilies, and the Paraphrases of Erasmus. A convenient pulpit witnessed to the increasing love for preaching. A Holy Table took the place of the old stone altar, and an alms chest for the poor told its own tale of increasing poverty. Monuments of superstition must be destroyed, and the church and churchyard, chancels and parsonages must be repaired and put in decent order. No one was to be allowed to minister unless episcopally ordained, and the old clergy who did not fulfil their duties were to be reported. The parsons must reside and present an example of devotion, diligence and discipline, avoiding taverns and scandals as well as corrupt doctrine and the bishop of Rome. Notorious sinners must not be admitted to communion without just penance, nor must any communicate, except in the manner provided by the laws. Fathers and mothers must bring up their children to some trade, and see that they are instructed in the Creed, the *Pater Noster* and the Ten Commandments. Vacant benefices must be reported, as well as the holding of benefices by laymen. The parish registers are to be carefully filled up and preserved. The people must be diligent in coming to church, otherwise the fine imposed by the Act of Uniformity will be diligently levied, and they must not frequent any kind of Divine Service or Common Prayer contrary to the accepted religion. Moral offenders must be presented, and innkeepers opening their taverns

during service time must be punished. Secret conventicles, preachings, lectures, or readings in which heretical or erroneous opinions are maintained must be repressed as detrimental to good religion and the common order. Care must be taken that charitable bequests and almshouses fulfil their object, and no money must be left for any obits, dirges, or trentals. Those who engage in magic or enchantment or violate the marriage laws must be presented along with those who stubbornly refuse to conform and spread abroad rumours of the alteration of religion. These documents throw an interesting and pathetic light on the state of diocesan life. Everything was out of order. Churches in ruins, morals slack, papists and protestants disputing every inch of ground, with rigid conservatism on the one side, and undisciplined licence on the other. Benefices lay vacant, and the spiritual distress being widespread the people became an easy prey to extreme partizans.

Methods
and results
of the
Visitation.

It was impossible for Parker to deal with the whole Southern province personally, and he therefore issued orders to the bishops and others to visit the different dioceses in his name. These visitations throw a lurid light on ecclesiastical affairs. In Surrey and Hants the *Declaration* was widely accepted, but many of the churches were destitute of incumbents, and some livings were too poor to sustain any minister. In Winchester city "the Common Prayer was not frequented since the Mass time and the people were opposed to good and sound doctrine," so that regular sermons against the Pope and the Mass became necessary. Hereford was in complete anarchy, and the cathedral was "a very nursery of blasphemy, whoredom, pride, superstition and ignorance." The

popish justices hindered religion, the butchers dare not open their shops on Thursdays, nor "the poor gospellers" work on Fridays. The popish feasts and fasts still continued to be observed. Scory's task was so difficult that Parker attempted to procure special permission from the Queen for him to visit his cathedral, which was exempt from his jurisdiction, but this help never came. Bath and Wells was in a state of financial anarchy, and Berkeley was almost driven to resign his see. In addition the papists flourished and in his own cathedral the dean voiced the opinions of the opposite extreme by openly denouncing the bishops. Norwich presented the most pitiful picture of misrule, a character which it maintained through the entire reign. Parkhurst was the slackest of disciplinarians, but even he found it necessary to supplement Parker's metropolitical orders with special injunctions approved by the Archbishop. Morning and Evening Prayer must be said according to law in order to decrease the woful ignorance of Scripture. The Lord's Table must no longer be decked like an altar, nor any gestures of the popish Mass such "as shifting of the book, washing, weathing, crossing and such like" continue in use. Marriage must only be solemnized in broad daylight. The clergy must preach more frequently and present themselves for regular examination. The places where images stood must be carefully whitewashed over, in order that their memory may completely disappear, and the remaining holy water stocks must be taken away, together with pictures of the Assumption and the Annunciation. There must be communicants at every celebration. The churchwardens must hand over the old mass books and "other instruments

of this superstition." Parkhurst's diligence seems soon to have produced a type of ceremonial more suited to his taste, and Cecil wrote to Parker complaining of the state of Norwich diocese. There was "such nakedness of religion that it overthroweth any credit: the bishop winketh at schismatics and anabaptists; there was great variety of service, and even a surplice could not be tolerated." In S. Asaph Davies found slackness in observing the marriage laws and in keeping residence and hospitality. The churches were out of repair, and must be attended to. Wills must no longer be executed until proved before the ordinary, as embezzlement prevailed. Church attendance was vigorously enforced, and the Holy Name honoured with "lowliness of curtesy and bowing of men's heads." Plurality was forbidden except by licence from the bishop, who also required the clergy to wear decent apparel when they came to see him. In Ely the "old religion" continued to receive widespread support. The images still stood in many churches, with the Rood. There was no great anxiety to meet the requirements of the change. Few churches possessed a book of Homilies, many not even a Bible or Prayer Book, some lacked Communion vessels. Preaching was infrequent and services few. The scholastic foundations presented difficulties of their own. At Eton, Parker found that a provost of "very ill fame" had been elected, whom he forced to resign. According to Strype, all the fellows except three were papists and expelled. The documents are very confused, and the religious sympathies of all the members are not clear. But of the six fellows one took the oath of supremacy, four were deprived, and the history of the sixth is obscure. In Winchester

College, regular preaching and frequent lessons in the Catechism, with weekly Eucharists, served for the moment in the way of discipline. Of the Universities, Cambridge is wholly unconnected at this period with Parker or his commissioners, but many of the Oxford colleges were visited, that university being generally spoken of as under "the papistical yoke." Horne found the Marian party so strong that had he proceeded to extreme measures he would have denuded Corpus, Trinity, New College, and Magdalen. He wrote to Parker, advising a special visitation under the Ecclesiastical Commission. Parker reported this request to Grindal, who supported Horne, lest "those godly foundations should be but a nursery of adder's blood to poison the Church of Christ." Parker himself visited Merton, where some of the fellows, led by Hall, the sub-warden, continued to support the old religion, and rejected Man, late chaplain to the Archbishop and new warden. Parker administered a set of twenty visitation articles, in which inquiry was made concerning "fellows favourers of papistry and other corrupt doctrines," and those who had disturbed the college services. The answers showed that the previous warden had ordered the use of the English Psalms in metre on All Hallow's Day instead of certain "superstitious hymns," and that when one of the fellows began the *Te Deum*, Hall boldly opposed him and raised a riot. He struck the Psalter out of the singer's hand, and threw it away, saying to the bachelors, "Are you still piping after his pipe? Will you never have done puling? I shall teach you to do as I bid you." Finally Parker ejected Hall and restored order. Broadly speaking, it may be said that Oxford was strong in its support of the Marian

party, and continued to offer opposition to reform for many years to come. Cambridge had received the changes with a wider welcome, and later was destined to give Parker serious trouble as a stronghold of Puritanism.

**Parker
asks for
diocesan
statistics.**

This review of the metropolitical visitation gives in broad outline the state in which Parker found his province during the opening years of his rule. There was as yet little consolidation, little true insight into his policy, and worse than all, little real piety. Storm and stress reigned supreme. Apart from controversies, other important details are forthcoming in connexion with the clergy which throw considerable light on the provision made for spiritual ministrations. During the progress of the visitation and in the following year, Parker sent letters to all his suffragans, requiring certificates "of the names and surnames of all and singular deans, archdeacons, chancellors, chaunters, and others having any dignity in your cathedral church, with all the prebendaries of the same. And also of all and singular parsons and vicars within your diocese, and how many of them be resident ; and where the absent do dwell and remain ; how many of them as well of your cathedral church as of others beneficed within your diocese be neither priests nor deacons ; noting also the names of all such as be learned and able to preach ; and which of them being already licenced to preach accordingly " ; " whether married or unmarried." Returns which have never been completely worked exist more or less complete for seventeen dioceses.

Grave scandals existed in the cathedrals. At Winchester seven of the body could not preach and five were pluralists. At Rochester five could preach,

but were mostly pluralists. At Peterborough there were three non-preachers and four pluralists. At Bangor the Dean resided, but three of the prebendaries—Yale, Price and Gwynn—were lawyers mostly employed “at the Arches.” At Llandaff three prebends were held by laymen, two at Worcester, and ten at Lincoln. At Norwich several were subdeacons. The proportion of married clergy in the cathedrals varied. At Peterborough the Dean alone was married, at Gloucester two, and at Rochester three. The dioceses presented even greater abuses. In a single archdeaconry in Coventry and Lichfield there were sixteen non-residents and thirty-seven benefices were vacant. In the archdeaconry of Leicester there were nineteen non-residents. In London some of the churches had been vacant for years. In the archdeaconry of Colchester there were twenty-nine non-residents, and in the town itself there were only two ministers. In the archdeaconry of Middlesex twenty-four parishes were vacant out of 165. In the diocese of Ely over thirty per cent. were non-resident, and over twenty per cent. of the parishes were vacant, while three per cent. were held by laymen. All this went on in the face of efforts to fill the parishes and to prevent non-residence. The preaching clergy varied in number. In London thirty per cent. were able to preach and presumably were licenced, in Ely the percentage fell to a little over eight, and lower still to four in the archdeaconry of Coventry, with a slight increase in the archdeaconry of Leicester. In the Welsh dioceses the numbers reached their lowest proportion. The marriage statistics are interesting, but not so vital. In the archdeaconry of London more than half the clergy were

Return
from
cathedrals
and
dioceses.

married, but only a seventh in that of S. Albans. At any rate, there were sufficient clerical marriages to keep the justices and ordinaries busy passing in review the chosen ladies, according to the royal order.

Review
of the
state of the
country.

It is unnecessary to enter into further details. These visitations present a dreary picture of diocesan life—parishes divided into opposing religious factions with few priests resident to guide or control. There was also a large percentage of “dumb dogs” who could not preach at a time when clear thought expressed in clear language was emphatically needed to meet the exigencies of the time. All that can be said is that things might have been worse. Had not a considerable number of the clergy and people accepted the changes, it would have been well nigh impossible to solve the problems presented. Nor can it be disputed, in the light of Elizabeth’s deliberate policy, that this wide acceptance of the Reformation was to a large extent honest and sincere. Doubtless many were weak enough to conform as they did under Mary from no very conscientious motives or reasoned theological convictions, and not a few suffered for conscience sake. But Elizabeth meant to conciliate her people, and it is only reasonable to suppose, when all her actions in ecclesiastical affairs are deliberately weighed, that many concessions would have been made to the Marian party had it carried with it the great central body of the nation. Elizabeth had learned invaluable lessons from the short-sighted policies of Edward and Mary. The tact and wisdom of Cecil supported and confirmed her line of action. Even granting that the policy on which she finally decided was not one of conviction, it cannot alter the fact that it would have been considerably more

conservative had the people as a whole stood out boldly on the side of the Marian bishops. It is a matter of history that at a moment when the national defences were known to be in a deplorable condition no organized opposition was offered to the changes. It is impossible to believe that the vast majority of both clergy and people had, to take the lowest point of view, completely lost physical courage and deliberately acquiesced against their convictions. Such a national act of apostasy is inconceivable.

Parker carried out his metropolitical visitation with the goodwill of all his suffragans. Sandys of Worcester, however, immediately began another visitation of his diocese on his own account. This unnecessary action called for the Primate's severe censure, as his patient nature was offended by the inconsiderate zeal of the "germanical natures." Parker was especially displeased because Sandys had proceeded hastily to deprivations. Sandys wrote thereupon a long defence of his actions, which unfortunately is all that we have to draw upon. But from it we get an early illustration of Parker's policy, which remained gentle, cautious and moderate as long as the maintenance of discipline allowed. Sandys indeed was one of the most inconsistent of administrators, and in later years again called for Parker's rebuke because he would not support him in his dealings with the Puritans. The incident marks the beginnings of Parker's efforts to ensure the carrying out of a uniform policy by the bishops, and also serves to illustrate the difficulties, destined to increase, with which foreign influences hampered his administration and offended his balance of theological thought.

Parker's
dispute
with
Sandys.

Short-sighted policy in the North.

Meanwhile the Northern province was sadly destitute of bishops. York was not filled till February, 1561, by the translation of Thomas Young from S. David's, whom Parker recommended as "both witty, prudent, temperate and man-like." Durham and Carlisle lay vacant to the following March, and Chester to May, when Archbishop Young consecrated Pilkington, Best, and Downham. This delay was entirely due to Elizabeth's greed, for as long as the sees remained empty their revenues helped to provide money for the needy royal purse. In vain Cecil urged the crying needs of the province, and Parker's prophecy "that whatever is now too husbandly saved will be an occasion of further expense in keeping the people down" proved only too true in the Northern Rebellion. Terence, he urged, "counselled not amiss *pecuniam in loco negligere summum interdum lucrum.*" But Cecil's anxiety and Parker's importunity failed to move the stubborn Queen. The sees were filled only when it was her pleasure. Meanwhile the Marian party flourished as the Government lay almost entirely in the hands of the Council of the North, which favoured the "old religion." Best soon found many clergy in his diocese "imps of antichrist . . . only fear maketh them obedient." Refusal to take the oath raised men into popular heroes. There was "mighty popery" increased by the circulation of French articles of religion. In Chester, Downham proved incompetent to deal with the strong and widespread recusancy, and Parker was forced to call him to account. In Durham, Pilkington compared his task to S. Paul's fighting with beasts at Ephesus, and added the pathetic hope "*utinam cum Paulo vincam.*" Thus Parker found his own efforts in the

South discounted and rendered less effective because of the inconsistency of the Queen, who, as he urged, "hindered her good zeal for money's sake."

The miscellaneous administration of these years, if not of wide interest, illustrates many points in Parker's government of the Church. He reformed the abuses of his courts, and ordered that accurate records should be kept of all appeals thither. He refused to allow children to hold benefices. He took care that licences should be granted for relaxation from fasting in Lent, and for marriage in times prohibited, two interesting instances of his appeal to the old canon law. The latter regulation was widely enforced, a motion in the Convocation of 1563 that such dispensations were unnecessary failed to meet with approval. He reformed the hospitals for the poor in his diocese which had fallen into decay and provided them with new statutes. But that part of his discipline with which we are most familiar from its presence in our Prayer Books and churches is the Table of Prohibited Degrees. Parker issued it under the title "An Admonition to all such as shall intend hereafter to enter the state of matrimony, godly and agreeable to laws," with orders that the churchwardens should provide it in every parish church. The diocesan bishops enforced this injunction in their visitations. The idea may have been suggested to Parker by Bucer, who recommended in his *Censura* the drawing up of such a table. The prohibitions rest on two broad foundations: that affinity and consanguinity are equally bars to marriage, and that marriage is not permissible within three degrees of relationship. This Table was subsequently sanctioned by the ninetieth canon of 1603, and still remains the

Miscellaneous administrations.

law of the Church, although recent legislation has given civil sanction to marriage with a deceased wife's sister.

[AUTHORITIES.—Strype, Dixon, Frere, Dom Birt as before. For the ceremonial, etc., in Chapel see Marshall, *Treatise of the Cross* (Antwerp, 1564. Brit. Mus. 698, b. 10). *The Zurich Letters*, Parker, *Correspondence*, and *The Spanish Calendar*. For the state of the Durham and Chichester, see *S. P. Dom Eliz.* xi, 16, 25. Prohibitions for the metropolitical visitation are in *Parker Register* i, f. 220. For the history of the preparations see Kennedy, *The "Interpretations" of the Bishops and their Influence on Elizabethan Episcopal Policy* (1908). The example of the early age for conformation is in *S. P. Dom. Eliz.* xxxvi, 41. *The Declaration of Principal Articles*, etc., is in Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.*, No. xlvi. Parker's Cathedral Articles are in *Parker, Register* i, f. 301 and fuller in *Univ. Lib. Cambridge MSS.*, Mm. 6, 73 (3); the Diocesan Articles are in *Parker Register* i, f. 302. The articles for Canterbury Cathedral are in *Parker MSS.* cxx, p. 71. The results of the visitation are chiefly in *S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, Vols. xvii, xix, xxi. The Norwich articles are in *Second Ritual Report*, App. E., those for S. Asaph in Wilkins iv, 228. For Ely see *Visitation MSS.* at Ely. For Eton see *Harleian MSS.* 791, and 7047. For Winchester see the *Horne Register*. For Oxford see the *Horne Register* and the *Parker Register*. For the returns see Parker, *Correspondence* Nos. xci, cxi, *Parker MSS.* xcvi, cxxii, and *Add. MSS.* (Brit. Mus. 5813. For the dispute with Sandys see Parker, *Correspondence*, No. xc. For the Northern Bishops see *ibid.* No. lxxxix. and *S. P. Dom. Eliz.* xviii, 21; xx, 5, 25. For the Miscellaneous administration, see the *Parker Register, Correspondence* Nos. xcii, xcvi. Cardwell, *l.c.*, No. lxiv.]

CHAPTER X

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN OLD AND NEW

It is now necessary to turn from the details of diocesan life to the hopes and fears of the leaders of both extreme parties. There still lingered the idea that England would make her peace with Rome or become more closely allied with the continental reformation. As the former gained ground, the returned exiles were driven to anxious fears and much heart-searching conference with their friends abroad, and in turn, as the Puritan party seemed to gain a position, the papal cause became more hopeless and its prominent supporters less optimistic. Thus the balance rose and fell, each party eagerly scanning the religious horizon with alternating feelings as some word or action on the part of the Queen or her advisers raised or lowered its hopes of success.

Early in the reign the Marian bishops, doubtless arguing on the lines of the Marian policy, had begun to prepare for the worst. The foreign ambassadors saw no solution to the difficulties which they created, except immediate death, and it certainly adds to their bold, conscientious stand that they were both ready and willing to suffer for the cause from which they never wavered. However, as events turned out, they found that their fears had been groundless, and not only were they allowed to live, but they enjoyed wide liberty up to the spring of 1560. Their numbers were somewhat diminished. Tunstall, as we have seen, had died. Bayne of Lichfield, Oglethorpe of Carlisle,

The
Marian
bishops.

White of Winchester, and Morgan of S. David's did not long survive him—none, however, died as prisoners—Goldwell of S. Asaph had fled. There were thus nine left round whom the hopes of the papists centred, and it became clear to the Government that it was dangerous to have them at large, not merely for religious reasons as complicating the constructive policy, but because the Marian party had already begun to arrange the succession to the throne. The frequent meetings of the bishops at the house of such a dangerous man as the Spanish Ambassador aroused suspicion, and although it is by no means clear how far the bishops were implicated or even how definite the plots had become, the Government decided to place them under arrest. Pole of Peterborough alone was allowed to remain at liberty, and the rest were confined in the Fleet and Tower, Bonner in the Marshalsea. It would be unnecessary to say anything of their treatment, had not serious writers painted it in the darkest colours. A middle view proves to be correct. In the eyes of the Government they had to all intents and purposes become dangerous to the national stability, and they suffered not the severities meted out in a cruel age for religion's sake, but an extraordinary lenient punishment for civil offences. They were not treated as heretics but as disloyal subjects maintaining the authority of a foreign power in England contrary to law. This was a crime of no inconsiderable magnitude at such a precarious moment in national history. And yet the Council actually considered the question of political prisoners being allowed to dine together, and wrote to Parker, who had interested himself on their behalf, to decide on the wisest course. Parker without delay gave

orders to the Lieutenant of the Tower to permit them to dine at two tables in groups of four, adding, "I think as this combination will not offend them." Thus at the beginning of September, 1560, we find both Church and State combined to make their confinement more enjoyable than their offence would seem to warrant. Unfortunately their foreign friends did not see the wisdom of leaving them alone, and they began to entertain hopes of liberty through money or influence from abroad. Such clemency as the Government extended was withdrawn doubtless from the fact that the Pope and Philip were a dangerous political combination, and because rumours of further plotting aroused their suspicions, and compelled them to satisfy in some measure the popular loyalty which was daily becoming more demonstrative and unrestrained as it gathered national force and support in the face of even suspected treason to the throne. This growing spirit of nationalism lent colour to the severe measures of the next Parliament, but even then, as we shall see, the bishops received much milder treatment than ever before. The gruesome pictures of their sufferings have no reality in history. Doubtless there were periods of severity, but these were only severe in comparison with the usual leniency extended to them. Their imprisonment, however, increasing in hardship before the rise of popular suspicion, cheered the extreme protestants, who argued a more complete triumph for their cause.

On the other hand, the death of that "stern father," Paul IV, and the accession of the milder and more diplomatic Pius IV, served to raise the drooping spirits of the Marian party. He succeeded once more

The new
Pope and
England.

in gaining the Emperor's support and quieted for a moment the clamours in other countries by sending out a bull announcing his intention of calling a council. A nuncio prepared to carry it into England. In May, 1560, Parpaglia, Abbot of St. Salute, Turin, started from Rome bearing a letter from the Pope addressed to "our dearest daughter Elizabeth," inviting her to return to the bosom of the Church. It was an anxious moment, and the Marian party had reason to rejoice when the Queen received the news with approval. On Parpaglia's arrival in France he was welcomed by many of the English refugees, before whom visions of a return began to rise. But Parpaglia never left France. Elizabeth, who never seems to have been serious at any moment during the negotiations, refused to allow him to enter the kingdom, and the Spanish Ambassador sent him no very encouraging reports of the royal attitude towards his mission. After lingering a few months at Brussels he returned to Rome in high disgust with the entire business. As Philip had from the beginning discountenanced Parpaglia, who was a Frenchman, it was easy for the Queen to excuse herself from receiving him because she could not trust him politically. Thus Philip was conciliated and the Marian party were deprived of a rallying point in the country. It was a pure piece of Tudor diplomacy. Morette, the Savoyard Ambassador to the Court of Scotland, passed through England but failed to move Elizabeth. Another nuncio, the Abbé Martinengo, arrived in Flanders early the following year, bringing a formal invitation from the Pope to send representatives to the Council of Trent now to be resumed. The Privy Council seriously discussed 'the question of his

reception and refused him admission, as it would be contrary to the laws of the realm and dangerous to domestic peace. The Queen could not recognize the old council, because though she eagerly desired the unity of the Church, it was clearly incapable of obtaining that end. England had not been originally taken into consideration. The present summons to all the Christian world did not alter the fact that there was no sign of any modification in the papal methods or claims. It is very difficult to explain Elizabeth's position. At first she certainly lent support to the idea of a council, but gradually became less enthusiastic when no guarantee was forthcoming that the English bishops would be treated as having a full claim to deliberate with the other bishops present. Up to the very last she led the Spanish Ambassador to believe that she would receive the nuncio. She allowed Cecil to have frequent interviews with him, and even to propose that he should have an interview with Parker, which Quadra gladly agreed to. Parker, however, wrote and refused. The "hard years of Mary's reign in obscurity," without intercourse and conference, had emphasized his natural shyness, and he felt that "the honour of the realm" would not be safe in his hands, as he had not sufficient facility nor acquaintance with foreign affairs. It was all that he could do to attend to the duties of his office. Even then, his studies suffered through ill-health and the pressure of work. Other reasons confirmed his refusal. It would be unwise for him to visit the Ambassador, or for the Ambassador to visit him, or even for them to meet at Cecil's house, "it would be construed among the light brethren in divers respects." If it were necessary to exchange opinions, writing would

be best. There can be no doubt that Parker's decision was wise. His refusal is not only characteristic of his honesty, but emphatic of his desire to complicate in no way the independence of the Church of England. It was judicious to reject all overtures through Quadra, who was the avowed leader of the English papists. He laid their case before the Pope and evidently hoped that permission would be granted them to attend the "Common Prayer." But Pius refused even this concession, and Quadra's leadership was thus made more official.

Parker and
the Council
of Trent.

Although Parker would not have any dealings with Quadra, he had a theologian's interest in the Council of Trent. He translated some of its decrees into English and submitted them to a severe critical examination, especially those on Justification and the Mass. While admiring the Pope's desire to purge Christendom, in the issue Parker was forced to conclude that "he mocketh and dallieth." The preface to this translation is of special interest as it throws light on contemporary religious affairs and on Parker's estimate of councils. His description of the rocks on which men wreck sums up the state of parties in England at the time: "There are two rocks between which godly men must with great diligence sail. For some by reason of lightness of mind without judgment and true faith embrace every manner of religion. But other some so stubbornly resist and will not once so much vouchsafe to know the doctrine set forth because their mind is bent unto an opinion which they defend for the truth, or being overcome with pleasures of this world they have no care of the truth nor the salvation of their souls." Puritan and papist are well depicted—the lawless liberalism of the one,

and the stubborn conservatism of the other—and there is a pathetic comment on the lack of personal religion, a love for the “pleasures of this world” characterized the Elizabethan age. Parker then proceeded to defend councils and synods, and even if the peace of the Church is not restored, he thought a godly conference “profitable and necessary lest the multitude of varieties and opinions should at length bring no less evil and discommodity . . . than brought the superstition of times past.” When councils ordain nothing against the truth, they are good to defend the simple faith of the people from error, who, however, have no need to be overburdened with arguments. The great failure of the papal councils is that they go beyond Scripture, whereas the aim of councils is to purge the Church by Scripture. This was the avowed aim of Trent, but the result has only been to oppress sound doctrine and stubbornly to defend superstition. Pius IV, Bishop of Rome, called all men, “but not as lost sheep to be sought and healed of the pastor, but under a most pleasant and meek form of a cat the salvation of the faithful is laid wait for, and the sheep of Christ are like to be torn in pieces as many as suffer themselves to be brought to this amity and familiarity.” Parker saw as clearly as anyone that the yoke of Trent was greater than that which our fathers could not bear. At the same time it is extremely doubtful if Elizabeth’s policy was based on any ecclesiastical grounds. As far as it is possible to trace her motives, the final decision was due to political expediency.

Once again the hopes of the Marian party were dashed to the ground. With the growing divergence between Rome and England the differences between

Severer
measures.

conformist and papist became more pronounced, and the efforts of the Government were directed to a stricter enforcement of the Act of Uniformity. The appointment of the Second Ecclesiastical Commission in July, 1562, illustrated the new policy. Lists of dangerous persons were drawn up and the more prominent were confined to definite areas of supervision, while the number of prisoners was also increased. These severer measures were emphasized by the course of the Reformation abroad. Public opinion became increasingly hostile to the Marian party after the ruthless massacre of the defenceless Huguenot congregation at Vassy by the followers of the Duke of Guise. This happened within a few weeks after the meeting of the Estates at S. Germain when toleration had been granted to the protestants, and Englishmen viewed this breach of faith, however unpremeditated, as significant. The tide of popular hostility gradually rose against the Marian party. Elizabeth supported the Huguenots with soldiers, and the nation gave expression to its fears in the coming legislation. Parker issued by royal command a prayer to be used after the Litany for those "sent over the seas to the aid of such as be persecuted for Thy Holy Name and to withstand the cruelty of those which be common enemies as well to the truth of Thy eternal Word as to their own natural prince and countrymen, and manifestly to this crown and realm of England."

**The
Protestant
party.**

All this tended to increase the hopes of the extreme reformers. Frequent letters passed between them and their continental friends full of enthusiastic zeal for the furtherance of "godly religion." The laws and statutes of Geneva were translated out of French

by Robert Fills, and published in London in 1562 with a dedication to Lord Robert Dudley. The Genevan system, "through which religion was wonderfully advanced and error mightily beaten down" was praised in no unstinted terms. Not only were gross crimes punished, but "heresy and strange and pestiferous doctrine" were "narrowly seen into." With "the sound of the trumpet and great bell" the ecclesiastical policy "taken out of the gospel of Jesus Christ" was "ordained and established." The fair picture was set forth in elaborate detail, and made a wide appeal to the extremists impatient of the moderate methods which characterized the Anglican position. At the same time the Queen continued to play tantalizingly with the idea of an alliance of all the Protestant princes against the Pope. During March, 1562, various projects were proposed, but finally abandoned as being more likely to promote peril than the common good. Although these proposals for official alliances came to nothing, yet the idea of further reform gained ground and supporters. As yet the *Via Media* had failed to make itself clear and logical, and a considerable body, supported by many of the bishops, looked with confidence to the erection of a system in which Catholic Church history would finally disappear and individualism come to its own. When the great Convocation of 1563 met, Parker found himself face to face with an assembly almost torn in two between a party which recognized the authority of the Church, and a party to whom tradition and ecclesiastical discipline were of infinitesimal importance and already chafing under the plain directions of the Prayer Book, and rejecting even the episcopal compromise with regard to vestments.

It was daily becoming clearer that a strong and vigorous body within the Church was not content to appeal to Scripture on matters of faith alone, but wished to extend that appeal to matters of practice as well.

Royal orders :
(i) Against
disfiguring
churches.

Evidence was not wanting to prove that the zeal of the Puritans had outrun discretion, and a series of royal orders was the result. As early as September, 1560, a royal proclamation was issued forbidding the destruction of the monuments on tombs and the alienation of bells and lead from the churches. The bishops were ordered to report those offenders who sought "a slanderous desolation of the place of prayer," and severe punishments were provided for. Early in the following year the Queen wrote to Parker and the other ecclesiastical commissioners ordering them to take measures for reforming the decay of the churches, now in open ruin with broken walls and windows. A table of the Ten Commandments was to be set at the east end of the chancels, not only for edification, "but also to give some comely ornament and demonstration that the same is a place of religion and prayer." In cathedral and collegiate churches this was to be done in a more elaborate manner than in the parish churches. Care was to be taken that the "unmeet and unseemly tables with foul clothes for the communion of the sacraments" should be diligently remedied in a manner worthy of Divine Service. In the following October another letter was addressed to the Archbishop and his fellow commissioners complaining of the strife and contention that had arisen over rood-lofts, fonts, and the steps within the choirs and chancels, and ordering that the lofts should be removed. The ancient screen,

(ii) For
screens,
etc.

however, was to be preserved, and, where it had been destroyed, another was to be provided. The steps which remained must not be removed, and the communion table when not in use should have "a fair linen cloth with some covering of silk buckram or other such like for the clean keeping of the said cloth." The repair of churches and chancels was also enforced, and the font was not to be removed, but to be regularly used for baptism in place of the basins which had now become fashionable. The clergy and parents were forbidden to continue the new custom of dispensing with godparents or otherwise changing the "accustomable use in the same." Copies of the parish registers were to be "made yearly and exhibited unto the registers of the ordinary." These royal orders were subsequently enforced in episcopal visitations, but little seems to have been accomplished to stem the tide of iconoclasm and innovation.

Parker also superintended the issue of a New Kalendar, which was ordered by the Queen under the proviso of the Act of Uniformity which allowed her to take further order in any rite or ceremony. It seemed advisable to provide more suitable lessons for the benefit of the ignorant people. The arrangement in the Prayer Book was far from satisfactory. Little change, however, was made in the lectionary, only the first lessons for Whit-Sunday were altered and an error corrected. At the same time the Tables for Movable Feasts and for finding Easter were added, "and the names of the saints which had been omitted from the first Edwardine Prayer Book were inserted almost as they stand in our present Kalendar." A similar order required Parker to regulate the use of the Latin Prayer Book in the Southern province.

**The New
Kalendar
and the
Latin
Prayer
Book.**

This was Haddon's version, issued in 1560, with a royal letters patent prefixed in place of the Act of Uniformity, allowing all the services, including the Holy Communion, to be said in Latin in Collegiate churches and college chapels, provision being made for an English service and Eucharist at least on festivals. The clergy generally were exhorted to use this Latin Book privately on those occasions when they did not publicly recite the English offices. It was based on the version of Aless, issued in 1549, and is very far from being an accurate translation. Its purpose, as stated in the letters patent, did not require all the occasional offices, and originally it included only those for the Visitation of the Sick and Burial of the Dead. When it was issued, however, all the occasional offices were added out of place after the Burial Service. It appears likely that this addition was an after-thought to meet the requirements of the Irish Act of Uniformity, which allowed the use of Latin where English was unknown. An appendix provided a proper Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for a celebration of the Holy Communion at funerals and a Commemoration Service for benefactors. It is very difficult to decide the reasons which induced Haddon to produce such an inaccurate version. He was by far the most brilliant Latin scholar of his day, and we can only conclude that he was acting under the pressure of royal directions with some other purpose in view than accuracy. But even this supposition will not excuse an absolution in the Holy Communion which never existed in any English Prayer Book, and a Kalendar of Saints for almost every day. It was not without excuse that in later years Parker had trouble over this book at Cambridge, especially in his

old college, which contemptuously rejected it owing to the differences between it and the English Prayer Book.

In the middle of all Parker's efforts to steer the Church through troubled waters, and to follow the difficult and fluctuating royal policy, an outburst of temper on the Queen's part caused him some weeks of bitter anxiety. After a progress through the eastern counties, Elizabeth was so disgusted with the state of religion, that in a moment of petulancy she issued peremptory orders that the cathedral and collegiate clergy should no longer live with their wives and families in the palaces and houses belonging to these foundations on pain of forfeiting all ecclesiastical promotions. It was the old hatred to the married clergy hidden beneath the excuse that the custom which had grown up was contrary to the founder's intentions and to the pursuit of learning. Cecil's firmness alone held her back from prohibiting clerical marriage, as he told Parker when sending him the royal order. Parker issued it to his suffragans in the usual manner, and Cox of Ely wrote him a strong protest. He thought it reasonable that "places of students should be in all quietness among themselves, and not troubled with any families of women and babes"—doubtless forgetting that his wife with Peter Martyr's had been the first women to reside in a college—but for cathedrals the order was miserable and contrary to Scripture. Deans and prebendaries would no longer reside, and the breaking up of families would be poor reward for preaching and zeal. "Doves and owls" will soon take the place of any "continual house-keeping." "What rejoicing and jeering the adversaries make." In an interview with the Queen,

The Queen
and the
Collegiate
clergy.

Parker was dumbfounded to hear her opinion of the clergy as a whole and her determination to issue a general injunction forbidding their marriages. His letter to Cecil is a pathetic comment on the difficulties of his office. It was with perfect horror that he heard her manner of speech against God's ordinance, and that the clergy were thus openly "brought in hatred, shamed and traduced before the malicious and ignorant people as beasts without knowledge to Godward in using this liberty of His Word, as men of effrenate intemperancy without discretion or any godly disposition to serve in our state." The Queen even said that she repented ever having appointed him and his brethren to office. He prayed God that she would not proceed to extremes, but if she did there would "be enough of this condemned flock which will not shrink to offer their blood to the defence of Christ's verity." Parker's nature rebelled against such an unnatural and unwise "progress-hunting injunction made upon the clergy with conference of no ecclesiastical person" as would deprive her of loyal ministers. He felt it a personal insult after that he had lost "joy of house and land and name," and in enforcing her laws "purchased the hatred of the adversary, and also for moderating some things indifferent procured to have the foul reports of some protestants." His ecclesiastical policy was in danger of being wrecked by the Queen's inconsiderate treatment of him who gladly bore all evil report for her sake. These protests prevented the order from being enforced, and induced the Queen to refrain from further injunctions on the subject, yet hardly any other incident in Parker's life illustrates better the difficulties which surrounded him, and the thankless

task of trying to do his duty under an impetuous and unreliable Queen, who allowed herself to heap abuse on the one man among the bishops who grasped fully the national religious policy, and was spending time and energy in trying to bring into line the very clergy whose disloyalty had aroused her undisciplined indignation.

Three books of more than passing importance were published at this time. The Geneva Bible, the work of the English exiles who had remained abroad to finish their task, was issued in 1560. Whittingham, afterwards Dean of Durham, brought it to England, and Parker, with somewhat bold broadmindedness, gave it his approval—"It should nothing hinder, but rather do much good to have diversity of translations and readings." In its convenient form, with racy and controversial notes, it remained a general favourite for many years, and was never ousted by the official Bishops' Bible of 1568. Unfortunately, Whittingham and his fellow-translators were the cause of much trouble in the years to come.

"The Geneva Bible."

Two years later John Foxe issued the English translation of his *Acts and Monuments*, which at once became a classic. Perhaps no book has ever received such a national welcome. Here obscure families found their martyred friends enrolled beside Cranmer and Ridley and Latimer. Here the minutest details of suffering for conscience' sake were rescued from oblivion and fitted into a permanent place in the annals of religious persecution. No one was overlooked, and no episode too insignificant to remain unchronicled. It has been the misfortune of Foxe's work to become, in extracts or incomplete editions, a handbook of religious partizanship, and thus Foxe

Foxe's "Martyrs."

has been too generally discredited. But when all due allowance is made for party feeling and a bitterness hardly to be blamed in an author writing so near the great tragedy, his monumental work remains a vast storehouse of ascertained facts. Within a few years it was ordered by Convocation as a handbook for the archbishops, bishops, and archdeacons.

Jewel's
"Apo-
logy."

The third book—Jewel's *Apology for the Church of England*—rises out of a mass of ephemeral controversy as a permanent contribution to the history of Anglicanism. To assign it to its proper place in the episodes which produced it would require a literary genealogical tree, which can be found elsewhere. As an example of lofty prose and concise logical argument, it is perhaps unequalled in the later history of the English Church. There seems little doubt that Jewel was encouraged in his work by Parker and Cecil, and care was at once taken to circulate it on the Continent. Parker's only complaint was that it was not ready for a conference between catholics and protestants at Poissy in the previous autumn. When Lady Anne Bacon translated it into English, Parker wrote a laudatory preface. He and Jewel compared her work with the original, and "without alteration allowed it." She "deserved well of the Church of Christ and honourably defended the good name and estimation of her native tongue, shewing it able to contend with a work originally written in the most praised speech." He concluded by wishing her work a wide influence and the blessing of God. The work is divided into six parts. The first outlines the method of defence as an appeal to Holy Scripture, the Fathers, and primitive tradition. The second deals with faith and practice. The third repels charges of

"horrible heresies," sectarianism and internal divisions. Before making such accusations it "were best to go and set peace at home rather among their own selves." The fourth part is a severe *ad hominem* argument against papal abuses. The fifth tests the Roman system by antiquity, and finds it "shamefully gone from the Apostles." The sixth reviews the more immediate questions of the papal and royal supremacy and general councils. The work concludes with an address to the Christian reader. Jewel stoutly maintained the catholicity of the English position, and while fully desirous of Christian unity and peace, the methods of the papal councils and controversies forced him to conclude with Hilarius that "peace is one thing, bondage is another," and with S. Gregory Nazianzene: "There is a peace that is unprofitable; again there is a discord that is profitable." Jewel's work must not be studied without considering its place in the controversy which produced it. It is both a defence in answer, and an attack to call forth from his opponents further commitments to unhistoric positions, and it suffers in consequence, as the language is frequently the language of debate, not the studied accuracy which would be found were it a treatise on Church history. At the same time, Parker found it a valuable help, and was anxious to make it the official groundwork of the Anglican position. Although it never reached this position, and, perhaps fortunately, escaped it, yet it became the *vade mecum* of the Elizabethan priest and the worthy companion of the Paraphrases of Erasmus in the parish churches.

[AUTHORITIES.—Strype, Dixon, Frere as before. For the Marian Bishops see the *Spanish and Venetian Calendars*,

Parker, *Correspondence*, Nos. lxxxvii-viii, and Bridgett, *The Catholic Hierarchy*. For the papal missions, etc., see Cardwell, *l.c.*, No. lii; *The Spanish Calendar*; Dodd (ed. Tierney), Vol. ii; Parker, *Correspondence*, No. cliii. For the Pope and English Service see *English Historical Review*, Vol. xv, p. 530. Parker's opinions on Trent are in his *A Godly and Necessary Admonition of the Decrees and Canons of the Council of Trent celebrated under Pius IV, Bishop of Rome in the years of our Lord 1563 and 1564* (Brit. Mus. 5016, b. 24). The second Ecclesiastical Commission is in Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy*. For an example of lists of persons presented see *Annals* i, i, p. 410. The prayer for soldiers, etc., is in *Liturgical Services of Queen Elizabeth* (Park. Soc.), p. 476. *The Laws and Statutes of Geneva* is in British Museum (1127, b. 22). The Royal order against destruction of monuments, etc., is in Cardwell, *l.c.*, No. liv (cf. Parker, *Correspondence*, No. xciv); for Rood-lofts in Gee, *Elizabethan Prayer Book*, App. xvi. Haddon's Prayer Book is in *Liturgical Services*, see also Procter and Frere, *l.c.* The dispute over cathedral clergy is in Parker, *Correspondence*, Nos. cv, cvii, cix, cxiv. For permission to print Geneva Bible see *ibid.* No. ccii. For Jewel's *Apology* see his works (Park. Soc.), and compare Parker, *Correspondence*, Nos. cvi, cxvi, clxvii.]

CHAPTER XI

PARLIAMENT AND CONVOCATION OF 1563

BOTH the Parliament and Convocation of 1563 reflected the changes which had taken place since they were last summoned. The House of Lords was practically the same, but over ninety per cent. of the members of the House of Commons were new, and a few reappeared who sat in Edward VI's last Parliament. Behind the brilliant scene which marked the opening on January 12th lay panic and fear. Nowell's sermon struck a note of alarm, and the opening speech of Bacon, the Lord Keeper, reflected the growing royal dislike for slackness and non-conformity. Two matters demanded immediate attention, "one touching religion for the setting forth of God's glory, and the other concerning policy for the Commonwealth." Clergy and laity alike were to blame for lack of diligence. Ministers were scarce and many were insufficient. There must be "sharp reformation." "For, as heretofore the discipline of the Church hath not been good, and again that the ministers thereof have been slothful, even so for want of the same hath sprung two enormities: the first is that for lack thereof every man liveth as he will without fear. And secondly, many ceremonies agreed upon, but the right ornaments thereof are either left undone or forgotten. As in one point for want of discipline it is that so few come to service, and the Church so un replenished notwithstanding that at the

Opening of
Parliament,

last Parliament a law was made for good order to be observed in the same, but yet as appeareth not executed." Heresy must be suppressed in every diocese by the diligent oversight of the bishops. Williams, the Speaker, spoke in a determined manner of the necessity for destroying "three notable monsters—Necessity, Ignorance, and Error," which now flourished in the realm. Discontent abounds, and "no man is satisfied with his degree though he hath never so much." The decay of schools needs immediate attention if Ignorance is to disappear. The universities are decayed, and the large towns lapse into blindness from the dearth of preachers. Error is "a serpent with many heads, many evil opinions, and much evil life: as Pelagians, Libertines, Papists, and such others leaving God's commandments to follow their own traditions, affections, and minds."

Legisla-
tion.

After the Commons had taken the Oath of Supremacy, they proceeded to discuss the question of the Queen's marriage. Williams once more voiced the panic of the House in an eloquent oration urging upon Elizabeth the pressing necessity of marriage. Many of the people combine with the enemies of England abroad, and there is reason to "fear a faction of heretics in the realm, contentious and malicious papists." Elizabeth, however, was far too wide-awake to commit herself to any promise, and thus lose her most powerful diplomatic engine in European politics. It seemed to her better to risk plots at home and treasonable speculation about the succession than to abandon a position in which she could play one suitor off against another, and so reduce the fear of a foreign invasion. But behind this anxiety on

the part of the Parliament lay the fear that the smallest active help from France or Spain would be the signal for the Marian party to break into open rebellion, and bring over the many unwilling conformists. There was an atmosphere of religious panic hanging about, and Parliament determined that the penalties for refusing the religious settlement should not only be enforced but made more severe. The bill which finally passed as *An Act for the Assurance of the Queen's Royal power over all Estates and Subjects within her Dominions* made it *præmunire* to maintain the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome for the first offence, and high treason for the second. Similar penalties applied to those who should be convicted for refusing the oath of allegiance as defined in the Royal Injunctions. Another act made it felony to utter any fond and fantastical prophecies concerning the Queen or other honourable personages. Finally, an act was passed for the due execution of the writ *De Excommunicato Capiendo*. This bill originated in the Upper House of Convocation, and was designed to facilitate the trial of such as fell under censure for ecclesiastical offences. The draft bill, which had been corrected by Parker, was greatly changed in Parliament, and a clause was added summarizing offences punishable by excommunication—heresy, refusing to have children baptized, or to receive the Holy Communion as it is now commonly used to be received in the Church of England, or to frequent Divine Service, error in doctrinal and religious matters, incontinency, usury, sorcery, perjury, or idolatry. This act strengthened the bishops' hands and simplified procedure. The other suggestions sent up by the bishops came to nothing. They

desired stricter observance of Sundays and principal feast days, both by church attendance and refraining from buying and selling before service. Although this draft did not pass into law, it eventually left its mark on the canons of 1571. Equally unfortunate was their attempt to procure legislation on behalf of the poor benefices. Parliament was perfectly willing to pass severe laws for upholding the throne, or to support the bishops in carrying out the discipline of their dioceses, but it shied when the question of ecclesiastical financial difficulties appeared, bringing with it such personal matters as the impropriation of tithes. The panic legislation and "the crisis" in the Church and State did not render the energetic legislators incapable of seeing that a debate on the miserable decay of livings would be best avoided.

Application
of the
new laws.

There was much anxiety about the new penal laws, especially about the oath of allegiance, and the Spanish Ambassador was prepared for severity greater than that of the Inquisition. But, fortunately, though the law was purely the outcome of political panic among the laity, the enforcement of it lay largely in the hands of the episcopate, and through the gentleness of Parker an era of bitter persecution and active religious animosity was avoided. He wrote to Cecil giving him the outline of a plan by which the act was robbed of its severity. He ordered his suffragans to have "a very grave, prudent and godly respect in executing the act of the establishment of the Queen's authority over her ecclesiastical subjects." Refusal to take the oath was to be immediately reported to him, and it was not to be tendered a second time without his permission. This order was to be interpreted not as tending

to show him "a patron for the easing of such evil-hearted subjects, which for divers of them do bear a perverse stomach to the purity of Christ's religion, and to the state of the realm thus by God's providence quietly reposed, and which also do envy the continuance of us all so placed by the Queen's favour, as we be ; but only in respect of a fatherly and pastoral care which must appear in us which be heads of the flock, not to follow our own private affections and heats, but to provide *coram Deo et hominibus* for saving and winning of others, if it may be so obtained." Although the Queen thought him "too soft and easy," and his brethren "too sharp and too earnest," yet he was determined to steer a middle course "till mediocrity shall be received among us." Cecil seems to have approved Parker's action, and added a paragraph to the directions which he sent to his suffragans requesting them to keep the matter private. The idea, however, of proceeding with moderation originated entirely with Parker. It was a bold act to delay procedure under a statute which provided that any refusal to take the oath should be reported to the Queen's Bench within forty days. Parker's object was to encourage delay, and, if possible, to prevent reports from going to London. He succeeded by a wise policy of considerate tact in robbing the law of its terror and preventing the enthusiasm of his brethren outrunning charity or discretion. It was characteristic that he should counsel gentleness at a time when popular feelings were well out of hand and likely to emphasize the already vigorous penalties.

Even in the case of the Marian bishops counsels of moderation prevailed. The oath was never offered

The Marian bishops.

to them, and owing to the plague, they were, with the exception of Bonner, soon transferred from London to the liberal confinement of houses in the country. Thirlby, late of Ely, wrote and informed Parker that he was coming to him though an unbidden guest by the appointment of the Council, and that he purposed bringing with him Mr. Boxall and all his family, "that is my man and boy." The boy especially pleaded not to be left behind, trusting that as Parker had made arrangements for him to be with Thirlby in the Tower he would now receive him with his master. He desired to know the best way to come, as most of the places in Kent were infected with the plague. Parker sent him a courteous reply. "A guest bidden or unbidden being content with that which he shall find shall deserve to be the better welcome. If you bring with you your man and young chorister too, you shall not be refused: your best way were to Maidstone the first night, and the next " to Beaksbourne, a manor of Parker's. At the same time, Parker informed Cecil of their journey, and that he thought it best for the sake of his household that they should dwell for a fortnight in another house "till such times as they were better blown with fresh air" and freed from contagion. No better example could be found of Parker's kindness and consideration. Boxall wrote and thanked him for his hospitality, and it is certain that Thirlby did not fare worse. He lived with Parker several years. On his death at Lambeth in 1570 Parker arranged for his burial in the chancel of Lambeth parish church, and "placed over him a large plain stone with this short inscription: '*Hic jacet Thomas Thirelby olim Episcopus Eliensis qui obiit 26 Aug. A.D. 1570.*'" There is not

the smallest evidence on which to base the virulent attacks which have been made on Parker for the treatment of his prisoners. Indeed he never uses the word "prisoners"; they are all along his "guests" whom he treated with generous courtesy. It is true that Boxall desired to be removed from his house, but Parker presented his case and wrote to the Council on his behalf, and if they refused his request for the present because Scott of Chester had broken his bond, yet they desired Parker to do all that was possible for the benefit of his health, and to provide him with physicians when he should need them. Every piece of evidence that is forthcoming points to uniform kindness. Nothing but an imagination inspired by personal hatred could have actuated any writer to go beyond evidence and blacken Parker's fair name with records of bitterness. Parker was never the man to take advantage of another's misfortunes. It is impossible to read his letters dealing with the recusants committed to his care without being convinced of his desire to make them as comfortable as possible. Even when fears of a French invasion were disturbing the realm he judged his guests "too true Englishmen" to aid such "insolent conquerors."

During the plague Parker ordered the form of prayer which was set forth during the Guise wars to be used in the city of Canterbury. He refrained from enforcing it on the rest of his diocese and province "for want of sufficient warrant from the prince or council . . . and because holden within certain limits by statute," but requested Cecil to procure the necessary authority for a general use. Cecil had already instructed Grindal to draw up a form of

**Prayers
during the
Plague.**

prayer which he now sent to Parker with a letter from the Queen authorizing him to enforce and publish it in the realm. Parker retained this draft for a week, and made some changes, "not in the substance and principal meaning, but in the circumstances: *videlicet* because I see offence grow by new innovations, and I doubt whether it were best to change the established form of prayer appointed already by law in this alteration of prayer for a time, as the formular would infer all the whole service in the body of the Church, which being once in this particular order devised, we do abolish all chancels, and therefore the Litany with the new psalms, lessons, collects, may be said as Litany is already devised in the midst of the people; and to be short, I have no otherwise altered the book, but to make it draw as high as can be to the public book and orders used." He wished the form of service had been shorter, as he feared it would be too long "for our cold devotions." The design was that the people should "continue in prayer till four in the afternoon, and then to take their one meal." Parker appears to have disagreed with this, but he was content to let the form stand, being satisfied if he could prevent it from bringing the chancel into further ill-favour and encouraging innovation.

Opening of
Convoca-
tion.

Parker made elaborate preparations for the Convocation of 1563. As yet the Church in its official capacity had taken no part in the religious changes, and the clergy generally looked forward to this meeting with some enthusiasm. Parker, however, proceeded with conservative moderation, and drew up an elaborate directory, which was closely followed. A little after eight in the morning, he left Lambeth

and landed from his barge at Paul's Wharf, accompanied by Bullingham, Bishop of Lincoln. Here they were met by the officials of the provincial courts and conducted to the west door of S. Paul's Cathedral, where the clergy awaited them in their surplices and led them to the vestry. The bishops, with Parker in the dean's stall, arrayed in their Convocation robes, arranged themselves in the stalls on both sides of the choir. The English Litany, followed by the *Veni Creator*, was sung, and at the Offertory the bishops came forward in proper order, and made the accustomed offerings, afterwards receiving communion. The Convocation was formally opened in the Chapter House, Parker delivering a short and eloquent speech to the bishops and clergy, pointing out among other things the opportunity given for reform. Not many days passed before he found that his words, instead of being interpreted as expressing his desire to break further away from mediævalism, and to approach more closely to the primitive Church, were distorted by the partizans of the continental Reformation. Nowell, dean of S. Paul's, was elected on Parker's recommendation, prolocutor of the Lower House, and the Convocation proceeded to business, which extended over thirty-six sessions. The personnel had undergone considerable changes. In the Upper House all the members were new, with the exception of Kitchin of Llandaff, who, however, appears to have taken no part in the proceedings. In the Lower House about sixty per cent. were new. It is, however, impossible to arrive more accurately at the proportion, as the records of this Convocation were destroyed with others in the Great Fire of 1666.

Outlines
for
procedure.

The preparations made for the Convocation survive in two elaborate documents. The first is entitled, *Certain Articles in substance desired to be granted by the Queen's Majesty*. It was corrected by Parker and Grindal, and some of the suggestions were acted on. For example, the necessity for an adequate book of doctrine bore fruit, although it was not drawn out of Jewel's *Apology*. Other items, such as a reform of the lectionary and of rites and ceremonies, bore no fruit. The other document, entitled *General Notes of Matters to be moved by the Clergy in the next Parliament and Synod*, is much more elaborate. It was also revised by Parker. Four matters required attention (i) The provision of Articles of Religion and a Latin Catechism, the Edwardine formulary and Nowell's Catechism being suggested as a basis. Once more the *Apology* appears as a suggested appendix. (ii) The reform of rites and ceremonies in the Prayer Book—vestments, copes, and surplices to be taken away; the table to stand no longer altarwise; the use of organs and curious singing to be removed; no dispensations to be granted for marriage without the publication of banns, and prohibited seasons to be reduced to Christmas Day, Easter Day, and the six days going before and upon Whit-Sunday. (iii) The necessity for ecclesiastical laws and discipline. The Queen is to be requested to revive the Committee of revision in order that the *Reformatio Legum* formulated by Edward VI's Committee should be corrected and put in force. All jurisdiction in a diocese to be vested in the bishop, from whom there was to be no appeal. Uniformity of outward apparel to be enforced. Laymen to be deprived of benefices. (iv) The increase of ministers' livings. Impropriations were

to be done away with after three years, as they were the root of all evil. Leases must be reformed and simony severely dealt with. Although many of the suggestions made at this document came to nothing at the time, they influenced future Canon law in the Convocation of 1571, and it is best in dealing with the present Convocation, to follow the sub-divisions of this document.

The provision of formularies of faith characterized the entire period of the Reformation. In England three had been drawn up during the reign of Henry VIII, and one under Edward VI. It was to the latter—the Forty-Two Articles of 1553—that Parker turned, and the earlier sessions of Convocation were largely occupied in discussing these Articles of Religion. Unfortunately none of the debates are forthcoming, but before the Convocation began Parker had done much in the way of revision. Other documents helped to influence him, notably the *Declaration for Unity of Doctrine*, already referred to, and the *Confession of Wurtemberg*, a Lutheran document presented by that state to the Council of Trent. From it he derived the statement of the eternal generation, and consubstantiation of our Lord, the article on the Holy Spirit, and suggestions for those on free will, good works, and justification. He introduced the two articles on “The wicked which eat not the Body of Christ” and “on both kinds” between those “of the Lord’s Supper” and “of the one oblation of Christ finished on the Cross.” In that on the Lord’s Supper the definite denial of the Real Presence which the corresponding article had contained was withdrawn, Transubstantiation was further rejected, and stress laid on the manner of reception.

(i) The
Articles of
Religion.

Guest had a considerable hand in this article, and a few years afterwards he explained to Cecil that his introduction of the word "only" safeguarded and did not deny the Real Presence: "This word 'only' . . . did not exclude the presence of Christ's Body from the Sacrament, but only the grossness and sensibleness of the receiving thereof." In this connexion some light is thrown on Parker's Eucharistic doctrine by a book entitled *A Testimony of Antiquity showing the ancient Faith of the Church of England touching the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord here publicly preached, and also received in the Saxon time about six hundred years ago*. In this book, Parker collected some Anglo-Saxon homilies, and prefaced them with a declaration signed by himself, the Archbishop of York, and ten of the bishops. Although there was some reference in the work to the propitiatory aspect of the Mass and to certain ceremonies yet "almost of the whole sermon is about the understanding of the Sacramental Bread and Wine, how it is the Body and Blood of Christ our Saviour, by which is revealed and made known what hath been the common taught doctrine of the Church of England on this behalf many hundred years ago contrary to the unadvised writing of some nowadays." In the sermon itself is the following statement: "It is naturally corruptible Bread and Wine, and is by might of God's Word truly Christ's Body and His Blood, notwithstanding bodily but ghostly." Without entering into the question which has been raised about the value of these Homilies, and the relation of the translation to the original documents, this book is a valuable help in any attempt to arrive at Parker's teaching. It must also be remembered

that the extreme party was bitterly offended by the changes made in this article. The Edwardine article had denied the Real as well as the Corporal Presence, and they found this omission a cause for regret. It had now become "mutilated and imperfect." The last Eucharistic article reaffirmed the Edwardine condemnation of the current mediæval teaching about the sacrifice of the altar. These Eucharistic articles are worthy of Parker's learning and moderation. He studiously avoided definitions and elaborate attempts at explanation. The more flagrant departures from primitive teaching are firmly denounced, but with calm and reasoned conciseness, and terms round which tumults had gathered are almost uniformly avoided. It was a triumph to carry the question out of the realms of speculative theology, and to bring to the front the aspect of Communion. It has become a commonplace of controversy to hold up Parker to scorn because he did this, but his theological position was all along characterized by a mistrust of mediævalism and of a multiplication of definitions which by the very nature of the case could neither be permanent nor adequate. His appeal was to antiquity, and even had this not been so, his natural love for peace would have done much to make him avoid words and phrases which aroused men's passions, or had degenerated into catchwords of party controversy. Parker can well bear the attack, for without sacrificing one iota of catholic doctrine, he threw the weight of his learning and piety to make the Eucharist a practical sacrament of unity and concord. There remain to be noted some points of interest. The position of the national church was strengthened against both the claims of the papacy and the encroachments of the

State by the statement that "the Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies and authority in controversies of faith." The reference to the Prayer Book in the Edwardine formulary was omitted, perhaps intentionally, with the view of avoiding controversy, but the position of the Ordinal was strengthened, and its sufficiency emphasized. It is unnecessary to go into minute details in tracing the changes made by Parker or Convocation, still less necessary to enter into the discussion of the different manuscripts. Both these subjects have been handled with accuracy and patience by Hardwick and Dixon. Taken as a whole, the Articles are infinitely superior to either the Confessions of the foreign reformers or the decrees of the Council of Trent. Their superiority lies in conciseness of phrase, absence of intricate arguments and high-sounding anathemas which savour more of presumption than divine guidance. They duly received the signatures of the bishops and clergy, and were printed in Latin and English the same year that they were passed. The hope of supplementing them by Nowell's *Larger Catechism* and Jewel's *Apology* failed. The publication of the former was delayed for some years, and the latter continued to hold its semi-official position, strengthened by Parker's preface to the English translation. The second book of Homilies was drawn up during this Convocation and printed by royal authority before August, 1563. The "Homily against disobedience and wilful rebellion," written by Parker after the Northern Rebellion, was added with the sanction of Convocation in 1571.

(ii) Rites
and cere-
monies.

When Convocation turned to the more difficult questions of rites, ceremonies and practices, the strength of the extreme party became evident. Early

in the session Parker had requested the bishops to present papers of matters in which they deemed reform necessary. There are forthcoming three of these documents, two drawn up by Sandys of Worcester, and one by Alley of Exeter. To them may be added two petitions from the Lower House, which were presented to the bishops late in January. Sandys, with consistency, wished to do away with the sign of the cross in Baptism, as it was "very superstitious," and that baptism by women should be forbidden. Alley was much concerned about nonconformity, and uniformity of doctrine, especially in connexion with Christ's descent into hell. Sixty-four members of the Lower House desired among other things an addition to the Confession in the Holy Communion, "that the communicants do detest and renounce the idolatrous Mass," that non-communicating attendance should be forbidden, and that the answering by sponsors should be discontinued. A few days later thirty-two members of the same House presented a still more drastic petition, desiring to abolish the use of organs, to omit the sign of the cross, to leave kneeling at the reception of the communion to the discretion of the ordinary, that copes and surplices should give place to a grave and comely gown, and that the outdoor dress, redolent of papistry, should not be enforced. Things, however, reached a crisis in the Lower House on February 13th, when it was proposed that no holy days should be kept except Sundays, and the principal feasts of our Lord, that the minister should face the people when reading Common Prayer, and wear a surplice only at all his ministrations. To these were added the old proposals against kneeling and the use of organs. A keen

debate took place carried on by thirteen members—nine for and four against the proposals. Others suggested that the settlement should be left in the hands of the archbishop and bishops, while there was a strong body opposed to any change in the Prayer Book. Finally when it came to a vote, there were forty-three in favour and thirty-five against, but on an examination of the voting power it was found that the motion was rejected by the narrow majority of one vote. From this date the question of the cope—the episcopal compromise disappears. It was clear that there was no hope of having it worn, and from henceforth the surplice becomes the centre of the ceremonial conflict, although the defeat quieted for a time the opposition to the Prayer Book as a whole.

(iii) **Canons**

With regard to ecclesiastical discipline there is evidence of much debate and many proposals, but nothing definite was arrived at. It is certain, however, that a *Liber De Disciplina* was presented by the Lower House to the bishops on February 26th, and by them referred to a Committee presided over by Parker. At the next meeting on the first of March the prolocutor, Nowell, informed the Upper House that the clergy had drawn up additional matter for the Book of Discipline, which Parker now returned, requesting it to be presented again at the next session. Two sessions later, on March 5th, the Book once more appeared with certain additions before the Upper House. Nothing further is known of it. Strype has printed the headings, and these with frequent omissions of a series of canons belonging to this Convocation which Parker has endorsed, "Articles drawn out by some certain, and were exhibited to be admitted by authority, but not so allowed." This series may

be the *Liber De Disciplina*, as it deals entirely with ecclesiastical discipline, and does not touch the thorny questions of ceremonial and practice, which would be expected were it either one of the episcopal papers asked for by Parker, or another petition from the Lower House. Owing to the destruction of the records it is impossible to know why this book was not completed and passed. It may be that Parker hoped that the *Reformatio Legum*, revised and corrected, would receive shortly the sanction of the Church and Queen—such a proposal as we have seen was noted for consideration—and that he was unwilling to complicate its chances by urging forward a rival body of canons. On the other hand, he had hoped that this Convocation would provide some disciplinary regulations.

Equally unproductive was the desire to improve poor benefices. Many suggestions were drawn up and proposals made to Parliament, but there is little evidence forthcoming of any debate on the subject in Convocation. In the middle of February Parker sent to the Lower House a set of six questions dealing with the spoliation of livings, tenths, subsidies, pensions charged on benefices, and the number of vacant parishes, but the replies given to these questions have perished. It is most unlikely, however, had Convocation arrived at any conclusions, that Parliament would have lent any support to make them advantageous or practicable. A few days after Parker handed his questions to the Lower House, Cecil prepared a draft bill for the augmentation of small benefices, but it does not appear in any of the parliamentary records, and doubtless was never introduced.

(iv) Liv-
ings.

Thus the really practical matters were shelved. It Review.

would have been possible as far as doctrine was concerned, to have gone on with the *Declaration*, and, indeed, it continued to be read in parish churches for some years after the Articles of Religion were passed. But the disciplinary and financial affairs of the Church, which were in a deplorable state, required serious attention. Nothing could be worse for the cause of real religion than that the clergy should openly scorn the Prayer Book and boast that they had done so, should fan the flame of party feeling, and even accept concessions under compulsion. Their poverty, also, was not calculated to enhance their influence. But however immoral were the causes which led to this diminution in the value of livings, many of the clergy deserved little more than they got. To borrow a modern phrase, they were doing the work of Geneva and receiving the pay of the Church. Of course, there was a strong body to whom discipline and church order meant something. They were willing within the limits recognized from the beginning of the reign to behave as members of an organized society. But the difficulty lay in the fact that such a considerable number wished to drive reform beyond those limits, to break every ceremonial and disciplinary link with the past, and to approximate more and more to continental ideals, and that as yet there was no idea of breaking away from the Church. They created the problem of Nonconformity within the Church, and monopolized time and attention, which would otherwise have been expended on their more worthy brethren. Their opinions and arguments are not now under discussion. As long as they remained within the Church they should have been compelled to accept the conditions or the

consequences with quietness and equanimity. Henceforth Parker's life was largely spent in the unedifying work of trying to bring them to reason. It was indeed unfortunate that no action was taken, for although open attacks were postponed, yet the disease progressed in secret and finally appeared more virulent than ever. However, this Convocation—the first official meeting of the new bishops—was in other ways beneficial. They saw more clearly their difficulties and the line of action necessary. Parker found some of these "*pleni rimarum, hac atque illac effluunt*," but for the most part he considered them worthy brethren, who gratefully called him their *sacra anchora*. And it is interesting to remember that Sandys alone appears to have been officially connected with any extreme proposals at this time, perhaps supported by Grindal, who all along proved inefficient. But, on the whole, Parker was not disappointed. He felt certain that "the mutual Conferences" would teach them such experience as would make for better administration and the consolidation of the Church along the lines of a definite and disciplined moderation: a "reverent mediocrity," as he called it in ceremonial, and in faith, "grounding ourselves upon the apostolic doctrine and pure time of the primitive church."

[AUTHORITIES.—Strype, Dixon, Frere as before. For the Parliament see D'Ewes, *l.c.* For the application of the new laws see Parker, *Correspondence*, Nos. cxxvii-viii. For the Marian bishops see *ibid.*, Nos. cxlvi-viii and Bridgett *l.c.* For the special prayers, etc., see Parker, *Correspondence*, Nos. cxxxv-viii, *Liturgies of Queen Elizabeth* and *Grindal Register* f. 35. Most of the Convocation history is in Strype and Dixon, see also Cardwell, *Synodalia*. The directory is in English in Fraser, *Constitutional Nature of Convocation*

(1852), and in Latin in Atterbury, *Rights of English Convocation* (1701), see also Burnet vi, No. lxxiv. For the articles see Hardwick, *History of the Articles of Religion* (1859), E. T. Green, *The XXXIX Articles*, and Bishop Gibson, *The Articles*. Guest's letter is in *S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, lxxviii, 37. For the Homilies see Bishop Collins, *The Witness of the Homilies* (Ch. Hist. Soc., No. lxii). The "Articles drawn out, etc.," are in *Parker MSS.*, Vol. cxxi, p. 267. Cecil's draft bill for livings is in *S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, xxviii, 4. For Parker's opinion of Convocation see Parker, *Correspondence*, No. cxxvii and cf. No. clxiv.]

CHAPTER XII

IN HIS DIOCESE

IN the middle of April, 1563, Convocation was prorogued, and after three months of the uninterrupted anxiety of work calling for all his energy, diplomacy and tact, and made more difficult by precarious health, Parker was glad to retire to his country manor of Bekesbourne, where he remained almost entirely for the next year and a half. These months were by no means idle. They afford evidence of ceaseless activity in the ecclesiastical affairs of the country and particularly of his diocese. In addition they provide glimpses of his home life, and the naïve humour of his character, which are welcome after the unbroken record of his administration, and before the gathering clouds of the Puritan revolt darkened his life and broke his heart. By the Queen's special permission Home life. he maintained a body of forty retainers in addition to his regular servants, and he kept up no mean style in the country for which he may be pardoned in an age which loved display and still judged the primate, without any censures for ostentation, by the traditions of splendour which lingered round the see of Canterbury. Indeed so far from feeling that his mode of life was any dishonour to his office, Parker made a rather amusing application to Cecil, asking him, as he was short of venison, to send him "a couple of bucks," in order that he might avoid the shame of his table if he should bid some of his neighbours to "a piece of flesh." He did not think it

proper that his table should be worse provided than those of his brethren. Queen Anne Boleyn, his former mistress, frequently supplied his needs in this respect, but even though Elizabeth had taken some of his parks and should in return provide him with three or four bucks, he was not bold enough to press his suit: "Marry, because I doubt whether in these days bishops or ministers may be thought worthy to eat venison, I will hold me to my beef and make merry therewith." However, the Queen's gift of "a great fat stag, killed with her own hand," and sent by her favourite, Dudley, varied within a few weeks the monotony of his table.

Visitations.

During the months of July and August Parker visited his cathedral and diocese. The enquiries and injunctions for the former are not forthcoming, but there survives a valuable inventory of goods which he ordered the Dean and Chapter to draw up and present to him during this visitation. This inventory is interesting from two points of view. It illustrates Parker's anxiety to prevent alienation of Church property, and it provides a contemporary comment on the Elizabethan policy in relation to the ornaments of the Church and minister. The authorities at Canterbury during the Royal Visitation evidently did not consider all their property "monuments of superstition," and therefore worthy of destruction or defacement. They included in that category only "ornaments given by the late Lord Cardinal Pole," and among these alone is there any record of defacement. Thus the cathedral possessed at this time a large collection of copes, chasubles, tunicles, albs and amices, as well as crosses, candlesticks, censers, two mitres and a pontifical ring. These are all

inventoried as existing, and we must conclude in good condition, but Pole's candlesticks, his great cross of silver, his mitre and crosier, his holy water-pot and chrismatory are noted as defaced. Although we know at this time that copes were regularly worn at the Eucharist in Canterbury Cathedral, yet it is certain that few other ornaments of the Church and clergy, provided for by law, were in use. The inventory, however, shows that destruction or defacement did not depend on legality. Ornaments were burned, broken or disfigured in proportion as the authorities of a particular church considered them "monuments of superstition," and at Canterbury Cathedral this only applied to some of the gifts made by Cardinal Pole to the cathedral. One record is of especial interest: "One communion cup with a cover of silver and gilt made of two chalices." From a record in Parker's first metropolitical visitation it appears that some decision about old chalices had been arrived at. Apparently their use was inconvenient as well as undesirable, and it is more than likely that some general order was given to turn them into "decent communion cups with covers." A reference to this order is found in the report given to Parker in 1569 of the state of the diocese of Chichester: "In many places they had kept their chalices, hoping for the Mass again, although they had been ordered to turn them into communion cups, keeping weight for weight." In his diocese Parker enforced the orders made in the metropolitical visitation of 1561, with some additions drawn from recent orders or influenced by recent events. While recognizing the use of the cope in his cathedral, he is now satisfied to enforce the surplice alone in the parish churches. Wafer

bread must be used for the Holy Eucharist, and the Holy Table must be decently covered. The rood-loft must be taken down according to the royal order, but the screen must be preserved or provided. The church bells must not be sold nor timber felled in the churchyard. At the same time in reply to a letter from the Privy Council he made a return of the extent of his diocese, the number of exempt places, of churches, and households. There was only one arch-deaconry, comprising eleven rural deaneries in the county of Kent, beyond which his diocese did not extend. There were no exempt places, and the churches and chapels numbered 276, and the households almost 11,000. At the conclusion of the visitation he reported to Cecil that he found the people loyal to the Queen and the clergy tractable and obedient. He was specially pleased with the town of Sandwich, on the occasion of his visit to arrange for the foundation of a school there. Riding thither one Sunday morning he arrived at seven o'clock purposely early in order to prevent a public reception and also to be present at the whole service: "But in the first consideration they prevented me, for though the morning was very foul and rainy, yet I found the mayor and the jurats ready at the town gate to accompany me to my lodging, and so to the church, being men of honest civility, and comely grave personages of good understanding; their streets (as they might be for the straitness of them) clean and not much savoury, their service sung in good distinct harmony and quiet devotion, the singing men being the mayor and the jurats, with the head men of the town placed in the choir fair and decent, in so good order as I could wish." It is a delightful picture

of popularity and satisfaction with excellent ecclesiastical order. Parker finished his visitations by issuing injunctions for Ely Cathedral after a visitation there by his commissioners in August. The old zeal for law and order once more appears. The cathedral body must not let nor demise any of their possessions for a longer period than twenty years, they must keep their records up to date and bind them "comely and decently" in one volume, only sealing those documents which were previously proved and registered therein. They must draw up an inventory of their church plate, ornaments and jewels, and annex to it the particulars of the money received for the bells, crozier and mitre, which they were henceforth not to spend. No traces of this inventory nor the circumstances which called for a visitation by the primate's commissioners are forthcoming.

From the larger world of Court and London life, from the far north, news welcome and unwelcome reached Parker of wider religious topics. De Silva, the new Spanish Ambassador, arrived in England in the middle of 1564, instructed by his royal master to persuade the Queen to deal tenderly with the Marian party, as he had promised the Pope to act on their behalf. Calfhill, the learned but violent controversialist, preached before the Queen, so Haddon informed Parker, a wild and injudicious sermon which he was sure Parker would not have listened to with pleasure. It was a disgrace to the royal presence and unworthy of the preacher's abilities. If the royal preachers acted with such intemperate rashness the cause of religion must receive great hurt. Although Calfhill was a stout champion against Rome, yet he was a poor upholder of discipline, siding with the

News from
the outside
world.

nonconforming party and worrying the peaceable clergy of the deanery of Bocking by inconsistent and novel orders every year. Perhaps the most pathetic news which Parker received during his stay in the country was contained in a letter from Miles Coverdale, who had assisted at his consecration. Coverdale was now old, poor, and infirm. Grindal had lately presented him to the living of S. Magnus, and he wrote to Parker begging him to use his influence with the Queen to excuse him from paying firstfruits. He had never had a competent living since his diocese was violently taken from him, neither annuity, pension, nor stipend for ten years and more. "I am also unable to pay firstfruits or long to enjoy the said benefice, going upon my grave as they say, and not like to live a year. . . . I am bold most humbly to crave your Grace's help . . . and am fully persuaded, God willing, to show myself as thankful and in my vocation during my short time as fruitful and quiet as I can." Cecil furthered the suit of "poor old Miles," as he called himself, and within a few weeks he was informed that the Queen had granted his request. He did not live many years to enjoy his benefice, but died as the storm of Nonconformity broke. This is one of the most pathetic episodes in Parker's life. It was a strange fortune which caused one of his consecrators to write to him within a few years, pleading oversight and poverty. Parker's reply would be valuable. From the North Pilkington of Durham informed him that the peculiars of Canterbury in Lancashire were with one exception "as far out of order as the worst in all the country." He besought Parker to hold a visitation and not to be weary of well-doing. Pilkington sang another tune

within a few months. In addition to all the anxiety which these letters brought, Parker was distressed through fear of a French invasion, and his fears so worked upon him that he laid his suspicions before Cecil. The southern castles are too weak, the people feeble and unarmed. French ships have inspected the Queen's fleet and spied out the weakness of the national defences. The enemy will certainly land at Sheppey and block the Thames. The wealthy folk will flee the country as there is no great trust in the men, munition, and artillery. Parker even sent his special messengers to Thanet and Dover and received discouraging reports of the unpreparedness to repel attack. He offered his poor services to the Queen, and promised that his chaplains should preach reassuring sermons if Cecil could only inform him that the Government was wide awake. Letters mis-carried, while rumours were plentiful, the smallest accurate information would be doubly welcome.

In the midst of his fears he received news of peace with France, and a royal command to entertain Monsieur de Gonnorre, the new French Ambassador, on his progress to the Court, at his country seat with all courtesy, but in no way compromising his position in the Church. To meet him at the door and to bid him farewell there would be ample honour. There are traces of a rather grim Tudor humour in sending the French Ambassador to lodge with the man most suspicious of his nation's policy. But the circumstances have provided us with a charming record told by Parker himself in a style of unconscious *naïveté*. The Ambassador arrived with the Bishop of Coutances at Bekesbourne on a Friday, leaving his suit at Canterbury, and Parker, fully convinced that his

Entertains
the French
Ambassa-
dor.

guests were both religious and political spies, determined to beat them at their own game by placing the Church in the light of catholicity, and showing the State ready to repel the foreign invader. His fears were justified. De Gonnorre had trained his gentlemen—so it appeared to Parker's panic-stricken mind—to search out curiously the state of religion and to mark the physical outlines of the country. They were politely inquisitive. But Parker kept close watch on the central figure. When the Ambassador retired for a short period of rest to his room, Parker walked in the garden "under sight of his eye." When he arose, the bishop, "a soft, good-natured gentleman," acted as interpreter. He enquired much about religion, on which Parker enlightened him, and was careful to note his evident pleasure at the moderation in the English Church. De Gonnorre could not away with the extremes of Geneva and Scotland. Poor things! They astonished Parker by telling him that they thought there were no fixed prayers, no days of abstinence, no Holy Orders, and no respect for the clergy in the Church of England. He soon "beat that plainly out of their head, part by word, part by some little superfluity of fare and provision." They heard, gladly he thought, of the reverent use of Common Prayer and Sacraments and of the use of music. To their anxious enquiries about the abbeys, he explained, with somewhat of exaggeration it must be confessed, that they were converted to the maintenance of canons and clergy, both keeping hospitality and preaching God's word, to the support of learning, to the relief of the poor, the repair of highways and such like. Parker presented the professed ideals of the suppression but not the worked-out details, and

his eloquence made his guests wish that such an admirable consummation were arrived at all over the Church. Of course they asked about Thirlby and Boxall. He then explained without fear of overstatement the uniform kindness and mercy extended to the Marian party, and found his polite visitors anxiously grieved "that they were so stiff not to follow the Prince's religion." Then Parker's turn began. Seeing them to be curious and inquisitive, he appointed some of his own household to question them about their own country. He found that they were surprised to find less misery in England than in France, "and because they much noted the tract of this country in the fair plains and downs so nigh the sea and to mark the strength we were of, in a vain little brag (unpriestly you may say), I thought good to have a piece of mine armoury in a lower chamber nigh to my court, subject to their eyes, whereby they did see that some preparation we had against their invasion if it had been so purposed. And so some of them expressed that if a bishop hath regard of such provision, belike other had a more care thereabout." This delightful simplicity is only equalled when Parker counted his spoons after the departure of his guests, and found much to his surprise that none were missing. Finally, being Friday, he explained the fasting days to them, providing a fish supper, but honestly telling them that it was for their benefit, and that fasts were observed "partly in respect of temperance and partly for policy, not for any scrupulosity in choice of days." He then told them that there were both bishops and priests and that they could marry or remain single, "every man at his liberty," but that "prudent caution" was taken for

their "sober contracting." This they did not disagree with and professed that "we were in religion very nigh to them." Then Parker got in a more practical thrust by expressing a wish that they would come closer to the Church of England, which appealed to the purer days of primitive faith. He told them his opinion of the Pope, and "they were contented to hear evil of him, and bragged how stout they had been aforetime against that authority." But Parker told them that the days for words were over for ever in England, the protests of Edward III's time were past, and that the Pope would never win back acceptance to his claims. In bidding their host farewell, the bishop showed him a copy of Osorius's *Epistle* in French, which he purposed to present to the Queen. This was apparently meant as an offset to all their courteous agreement with him. On asking the meaning and purpose of the gift he found that they considered that it would be acceptable to her Majesty, expressing so well her graces and virtues. Parker rather curtly replied that it were better it had remained in Latin, as the Queen preferred that language—a sly sneer at France—and that they would have been better employed in translating Walter Haddon's reply with which he presented both to read by the way. The visit did not reassure Parker, and he pressed Cecil to make clearer the political policy. But Parker's attention was soon called to a more anxious task. He left the country, which he found "very dear to dwell in," in January, 1565, and a peremptory letter from the Queen greeted him at Lambeth which turned his thoughts from the complications of politics to the storm of Nonconformity which had gathered force and was beginning to break.

[AUTHORITIES.—Strype, Dixon, Frere as before. For his home life see Parker, *Correspondence*, Nos. cxxix, cxxxi, cxlii. For his visitations see the Inventory in Wickham Legg and St. John Hope, *Inventories of Ch. Ch. Cant.* (1892). For the Communion cup see *Visitation MSS.* (Canterbury), and *S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, lx, 71. For the Visitation articles see *Second Ritual Report*, App. E. For the return of Privy Council see their letter in Parker, *Correspondence*, No. cxxxv. There are two copies of the return, one in *Harleian MSS.*, mxciv (printed by Strype), and another in *Parker MSS.*, cxxii, 291, in which households are not totalled, and in other respects very incomplete. For his report to Cecil on visitation see Parker, *Correspondence*, No. cxxxix. The commission to visit Ely Cathedral is in *Parker Register* i, f. 327, and the Injunctions are in *Parker MSS.*, cxx, 241. For Calphill's sermon see Parker, *Correspondence*, No. clxvi, for Coverdale see Strype and *Lansdowne MSS.*, vii, 60. For state of Lancashire see Parker, *Correspondence*, No. clxviii. For his fears of France see *ibid.*, No. clv-vi, and for his entertainment of French Ambassador see *ibid.*, No. clxi, clxiv.]

CHAPTER XIII

THE PURITANS

Puritan
hopes.

THE Elizabethan settlement was acceptable to the returned exiles only because they were confident that within a short time it would receive the full impress of their own opinions. Early in the reign they protested to their friends abroad against many things that were retained, but for the moment they kept silence at home, interpreting their call to office in the Church as indicative of the divine purpose to use them eventually, when religious affairs were somewhat more settled and the ecclesiastical machinery once again in complete working order, as the means to uproot and extirpate every trace of "popery" and "idolatry" from the fair heritage where "harbour is granted to the afflicted members of Christ's body." They were sincerely inspired by the sense of their vocation and accepted it with the unquestioning belief that their preservation from the fire and faggot called for whole-hearted zeal in propagating their new-found theories. Gradually they had gathered strength, and by this time they included in their ranks a considerable number who, though lacking the personal experience of foreign reform, were inspired by the returned exiles' enthusiasm or led astray by the phantom of their arguments. The hopes which were nurtured more or less in secret or made public, without any wide suggestion of the desire to apply them to English affairs by the glowing descriptions

of the gospel's free course abroad, reached official expression, as we have seen, in the late Convocation. Some scattered practices which the extremists objected to were gathered together and put to the vote as a *ballon d'essai* which served, without disclosing their full aims, to test the strength of the opposition and to consolidate the ranks of reform. Although defeated in Convocation, they had every reason to be proud of the result, and to hope confidently that further success would attend their cause.

Up to a certain point both parties within the Church were agreed. They both appealed to Scripture on matters of faith and both emphasized the value of individual responsibility. These were the really valuable fruits of the Reformation. But the Puritan appealed to Scripture, not merely to settle vital questions, but for direction in the minutest details of conduct and worship. Hence the opposition to the "linen surplice" and the "square cap and gown." In matters of discipline he stood for individual freedom in theory, but in practice, when he had his way, he erected an ecclesiastical oligarchy which tyrannized over the individual conscience. This same tendency is seen more clearly in his relation to the State. He was right in protesting against Erastianism, which was the greatest weakness of Elizabethan Anglicanism; but he failed to adjust the balance. For example, as soon as he had the opportunity, in Scotland he endeavoured to make the State follow subserviently the lead of a few elders. Hence the dislike which James I had for him. Besides he had no conception of the *Via Media*, as he divided Christendom into two vast camps—the friends and

Puritan
and
Anglican.

foes of Rome. This conception emphasized his hope that the English Church would throw in her lot with foreign reform and help to consummate his ideal of a religious union between all the countries which had thrown over the papal yoke. Unfortunately at this period Puritanism fell into the hands of a few fanatics, who made its ideals appear ludicrous and childish. Of course, it would be unjust to judge it by mere extreme exponents, who more or less have overshadowed its merits by laying bare its defects in controversial literature, but it is with these extremists that we have to deal. Before entering on the painful history it must be remembered that all along concessions were made by the Church to the more noble and solid Puritanism, in a spirit of toleration which Parker fostered and admired. The Church only became actively opposed to Puritanism when she came face to face with men who sought to pervert her system by sowing within her the seeds of principles absolutely destructive of her essential characteristics, and who undermined her authority by wilful perversity. The dreary letters and literature produced by the extremists in the vestiarian controversy, far from revealing a struggle for freedom, disclose a vindictive certainty, a sensitive unreasonableness, and an impassioned disproportion. The history of the conflict is lengthy and confused, but there emerges at the end the plain uncontrovertible fact that the sacred name of liberty was prostituted to base and ignoble ends. The Puritan protagonist understood by it only freedom for himself. He gave no quarter to anyone who did not see eye to eye with him, and each concession meant a further demand. Thus the extremist alienated the sympathies of the

best Puritans, such as Bullinger, who grew weary of his restless and insatiable zeal, he complicated more than ever the religious problem in England by lashing into fury the impatient Queen, and he provoked the spirit of a man so gentle as Parker on whom as primate the burden naturally fell of opposing the anarchy created by his meticulous scrupulosity.

The battle, as of old, raged round the dress of the clergy in Church. Echoes of it come down from the closing years of Henry VIII's reign, when the surplice caused dissatisfaction in Peterborough. At the bottom of Hooper's scruples and of the whole vestiarian controversy under Edward VI there lay a deep-rooted objection to any distinctive garment enforced by authority. This became more apparent when the Marian exiles returned at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign fresh from the bareness of foreign reform. Although they issued no public manifesto on the subject, yet they were strong enough to take advantage of the general dislike for "monuments of superstition" and to create an atmosphere of revolt. As we have already seen, the reign began with a concession to the strict requirements of the law when the bishops were prepared to be satisfied with the cope instead of the chasuble. But, far from accepting this concession, the surplice was already considered a badge of popery by the extreme party in the last Convocation, and Lawrence Humphrey, President of Magdalen College, Oxford, soon destined to become one of the chief public supporters of Puritanism, wrote to consult Bullinger in August, 1563, on the question of wearing "that round cap and popish surplice." Were these things "so long established

The old struggle over ceremonial.

with so much superstition " to be deemed " indifferent " or to be tolerated for the sake of peace and order? No reply is extant and there the matter seems to have rested for more than a year without any further action on either side.

Fears of
legislation.

But rumours were afloat in the autumn of 1564 that the Queen was meditating severe measures, not only to enforce a certain amount of conformity in Church, but also the outdoor dress of the clergy ordered by the Royal Injunctions. The political outlook had cleared owing to the peace with France, and the Government were freer to supervise the state of the Church with which the Queen expressed herself highly displeased. Behind the brilliant scenes of her summer progress, her watchful eye had noticed the widespread disobedience, and no inconsiderable uneasiness was caused about the manner in which she would express her displeasure. Even from the north letters full of apprehension came addressed to the Queen's favourite, Leicester, who supported the Puritan cause. News had reached Pilkington in Durham that there was much offence taken with some of the nonconforming ministers. He protested against severity for small and insignificant breaches of the law, and prophesied that many would leave their livings rather than conform or wear the apparel of popery which does not become " saints and professors of true holiness." He relied on Leicester's aid " to comfort the afflicted Church and root out all stumbling-blocks in religion " which " blear the eyes of the ignorant with an outward show of holiness." At the same time Whittingham, Dean of Durham, also wrote a lengthy letter to Leicester. Rumours have given place to the definite report that a royal

decree was already formulated demanding conformity under the penalty of deprivation. He besought his noble patron to champion the right, by listening to "the cries and groans of so many of God's poor children," and by refusing to yield "to the triumphs of the Pope against Christ." Both letters were pitched in a high key of godly apprehension. On the other hand, information reached Parker of militant Nonconformity in Essex and open preaching against the Prayer Book and Royal Injunctions.

At this point there is a gap in the documents, but somewhere about the close of 1564, Parker made an attempt to deal with Humphrey and Thomas Sampson, Dean of Christ Church, who now appears with his Oxford friend as the stout champion of Puritanism. It is not clear what was the direct influence which led to Parker's action, but in December he set them a set of questions dealing with the matters in dispute. In their replies they objected to the surplice, and much more to the cope, as it "had been used and devised to deface the Sacrament." Parker thereupon drew up a long answer to their objections which has not survived, and this was met with six further reasons against conformity, to which Guest replied by somewhat undignified arguments. Parker then drew up the arguments for and against in a convenient form, adding "a sum of the vestiarian controversy between Bucer and John à Lasco." When these paper controversies were over, Parker then made an attempt at conciliation, and drew up an article which he called "Proposito Episcoporum," signed by himself, the Bishops of London, Winchester, and Ely, and others in which it was laid down that the distinctive dress may be worn both in the church and without, provided

Parker's
early
dealings.

that all idea of worship or necessity be removed. An additional paragraph was added to the effect that charity towards the weak must be maintained, and four reasons, composed by Dean Nowell, which Parker called "Mr. Nowell's pacification," for taking away the "difference of apparel." The original article, however, was presented to Humphrey and Sampson, who signed it with the reservation that all things were lawful but not expedient or edifying. This practically nullified their assent. Thus the first act in the struggle closes. It was purely academic and confined to a very limited circle. But some important facts clearly emerge. The Puritan champions relied on two arguments which were practically insurmountable. If the habits were enforced as "things indifferent" they answered that it was unreasonable to strive over unimportant details, which had no authority from Holy Scripture. When it was pointed out that it was impossible to look to Scripture for every minute point of ceremonial or order, they fell back on the argument that these things were far from indifferent, but relics of papal superstition which no true enemy of the Church of Rome could conscientiously accept. The future history of the controversy itself leads little, if at all, further. But behind the question of an authority in the Church to regulate worship and enforce discipline which for the moment was really at issue, there lay, as Parker clearly saw, the nearly related questions of doctrine which unfortunately came into debate before the controversy had spent itself. Nor was it a fight for religious liberty: neither side could claim that honour so long as the papal recusants were forbidden freedom of worship. The other clear fact which has largely become obscured in the heat of

party feeling, is the attempt which Parker made at conciliation. In the history of the struggle his name has been covered with the most uncompromising abuse, and he alone has been blamed for causing conscientious men untold pain. The imaginative and picturesque historian of Puritanism has much to answer for. When the storm broke in earnest, and when Parker was goaded on by the Queen and then left to fight the unwilling battle alone, but conscious that authority demanded it of him, he showed no small amount of kindness and charity, and a desire, not unworthy of his office and far above the spirit of his age, to mitigate the punishments meted out. It is true that from this point on he used terms which were bitter and sarcastic, but the extreme Puritan—and it is with him we have to deal, was a bitter and sarcastic gentleman.

Once more the chain of documents breaks, but this time only for a few weeks. On the 25th January, 1565, the dreaded blow long expected by the Puritans fell. Elizabeth wrote to Parker the famous letter which has survived and figured so prominently in modern controversy. Parker was prepared for it a few days before by a letter from Cecil. The Queen set out at length how harmful "the diversity, variety, contention and vain love of singularity" were to the cause of religion and unity, and this in the face of careful and well considered laws and ordinances for uniformity. Her "no small grief" was because the Church compared so unfavourably with the State in the matter of obedience. The primate and bishops have been too moderate and kindly disposed to the offenders, not only in opinions but in external rites and ceremonies, although she had trusted them to

The Queen
urges
Parker on.

uproot the errors "tending to breed some schism and deformity in the Church." She had now grown weary of nurturing this vain hope, and intended to suffer the evils no longer, but to enforce the laws and ordinances of the realm. She charged Parker to confer with his brethren on the Ecclesiastical Commission and other ordinaries at the Universities and elsewhere, to ascertain what varieties existed and to "proceed by order, injunction or censure, according to the order and appointment of such laws and ordinances as are provided by Act of Parliament and the true meaning thereof so as uniformity of order may be kept in every church, and without variety and contention." She also desired that in the future no one should be admitted to any ecclesiastical office who was not well disposed to the common order and refused his promise to maintain the same. Parker issued this letter according to custom to the Dean of Bocking and the Bishop of London for publication in the Southern province, and at the same time requested the bishop, according to the tenor of the royal letter, to ask for a certificate of the varieties used in service in the Church from every diocese.

**Varieties in
service.**

It is not clear whether any considerable number of returns was drawn up. Three alone are forthcoming. One is the return for Canterbury Cathedral. The Dean and Chapter certified that no doctrine was taught contrary to the word of God and the received religion; that Common Prayer was sung daily throughout the year, though there was no Communion, at the Holy Table standing north and south, the minister wearing a surplice only standing on the east of the Table with his face towards the people; that there was a monthly celebration of the Holy Communion,

“ the priest which ministereth and the epistoller and gospeller at that time wear copes ” ; wafer bread was used according to the Royal Injunctions. The preachers wore surplices and silk hoods, and the petty canons, lay clerks and choristers surplices in choir. Beaumont, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, reported after a meeting of the heads that the University was well disposed “ to the substance of religion now agreed upon,” but that a few papists lurked in certain colleges, and that some in Christ’s College and S. John’s only wore surplices under compulsion, while some of the members of Trinity College thought it unseemly that Christians should be present at profane comedies or tragedies. The third return is much more general. It may be Grindal’s account of London diocese. It seems to be in his handwriting, and the varieties recorded correspond largely to those subsequently found in that diocese. But it is, perhaps, best to regard it as a general summary drawn up for Cecil of the “ varieties in the service of the Church of precisions.” It presents a violent contrast to the state of affairs in Canterbury Cathedral and Cambridge, and diversity of use has seldom been so wide. The Common Prayers were said in the chancel, the pulpit, or elsewhere, sometimes with metrical Psalms introduced, the minister at times without a surplice. The Holy Table had no fixed place, and was frequently left uncovered, while the communion was ministered with surplice and cope, with surplice alone, or without any distinctive garment, in a chalice, communion cup, or common cup. There was wide variety in the bread used, and in the manner of reception—some kneeling, some standing, some sitting. The administration of Baptism was equally

varied, some used the font and some a bason, some signed with the cross, others not. In outdoor dress private fancy also prevailed.

Renewal of
the contest.

Such a return dismayed the authorities, but undeterred by any fear, the Puritans in the person of Thomas Lever memorialized Leicester and Cecil against the habits and "not to allow such corruption among the Protestants being God's servants, as should make papists to join and hope for a day being God's enemies." Meanwhile Parker and his brethren were at work on a body of "ecclesiastical constitutions" or "book of articles," which Parker sent to Cecil on March 3rd, asking him to procure for them the royal authority, and reporting to him at the same time a further attempt to bring Sampson and Humphrey to conformity. "The matter [will be] almost won through the realm" if the Queen lends her support and a firm hint is given to Grindal. A few days later he renewed his appeal, urging the futility of action apart from the Crown. Cecil had begun the matter, and if he would not see it through the bishops "will set still," and Parker himself "will no more strive against the stream, fume and chide who will." Humphrey and Sampson had returned from Oxford and returned the copies of Bucer's and Martyr's letters which he had given them to move them to obedience, but they remained stubborn as of old. Still the Queen turned a deaf ear to his appeals, and once more he re-opened the question to Cecil, regretting that Cecil had stirred the matter of uniformity if he would not lend it active support. Parker saw by this time that it was a doubtful issue, and felt that quietness would not be promoted by urging conformity publicly before the Council on

"some of these earnest men." "All men be not one man's children." He suggested that Cecil should meet him and Grindal at the Lord Keeper's, and arrive at some method of treating "this cause with less offence." He no longer appealed for royal authority for "the book of articles" which were laid aside with the endorsement "not approved."

Meanwhile Sampson and Humphrey appealed to Parker and his brethren on the Ecclesiastical Commission, renewing the same old arguments, but astutely remarking that many of the bishops were on their side, and wished that the "stones of offence were removed." For a few weeks the matter remained unpursued and the champions renewed their appeal to Leicester. The failure of the Government to lend official support to Parker in a crisis which they had created, turned all the weight of public opinion against him. He "alone was at fault," the only "stirrer and incenser," Grindal was claimed by the Puritans, and Pilkington was ready to resign rather than enforce the habits. Worse still, the Court favoured disobedience. Cole was there not wearing the legal apparel, and Sampson and Humphrey both preached at S. Paul's Cross, and abused "their friends' lenity on whom they trust." Turner, Dean of Wells, "toyed with the Prince's pleasure," and "enjoined a common adulterer to a penance in a square priest's cap." Parker felt that the Government were playing fast and loose with his reputation, and resolved, in the scorn of the legal consequences which he feared, to proceed to extremities himself. On April 29th he summoned the two champions before him, and peremptorily ordered them "to wear the cap appointed by the Injunctions, to wear no hats

Parker's
perplexities.

in their long gowns, to wear a surplice with a non-regent hood in their choir at their colleges according to the ancient manner there, to communicate, kneeling in wafer-bread," or else to be deprived. They refused to conform and pleaded for delay. When the sentence took effect Parker showed his old kindness. He used his influence on Sampson's behalf at Christ Church, and furthered his petition to Cecil that he might be at liberty, even writing a special letter in his favour. He also wrote a friendly letter to Sampson, saying how glad he was to help him, and hoping "that time and indifferent reading on your party will give you cause to join again in our communion. I mean not in doctrine but in this matter of this ecclesiastical policy." There can be no doubt of Parker's sincerity. He was not the man to take undue advantage of his opponent, and it is very questionable if he would have used severe measures rather than persuasion and personal influence, had he not been goaded on by the Government and left by them in a somewhat unenviable and ludicrous position. Humphrey himself in a separate appeal clearly recognized where the pressure lay, "Speak, I humbly beseech you, to the Queen's Majesty, to Mr. Chancellor, to Mr. Secretary, and to the rest that these proceedings may sleep."

The
licenced
preachers.

Closely allied with the vestiarian controversy was the indiscriminate zeal of the licenced preachers. They had turned out champions of the Puritans and were now disturbing the country by their boldness. For example, George Withers relying on an old papal licence, stirred up Cambridge, urging the smashing of the painted windows. When Parker inquired into his case, he found that not only his licence was invalid,

but that he had a deep-rooted objection to wear the habits. Although he conformed within a few weeks, yet the uproar which he caused turned Parker's attention to a closer scrutiny of the preachers. The Queen also urged reform in this direction. Parker, therefore, wrote a letter to Grindal for circulation in the province requiring the bishops to take more care in granting licences and to warn the parish clergy not to admit any preachers to their pulpits whose licences were dated before April 1st, 1565. Licences must not be renewed to any but reliable men who would "receive them without difficulty, bringing in their old." This precaution turned out a failure. Deprived of the preaching which they dearly loved, the extremists considered themselves greater martyrs than before, and began to hold secret meetings for worship after the model of the Genevan reformers.

At this point the fighting ceased for a time along the main line of action. The Puritans appealed for advice and support abroad, and Parker was engaged in a sharp skirmish at Cambridge, where Nonconformity had grown so strong within a few months, that the Vice-Chancellor and heads, among whom was Whitgift, petitioned Cecil to stay severe measures, as the University must suffer severely, so many being affected. However, at S. John's the dispute reached a crisis. The President, Longworth, aided by Fulk, whom he had irregularly elected to a fellowship, created anarchy for a time. The account of the troubles is full of the most ludicrous situations. If Fulk was a violent reformer, preaching against surplice and cope, wafer-bread, altars, and kneeling, Longworth was a crank who turned his rooms into

Parker and
Cambridge.

a home for rabbits, dogs, and cats, and in this strange company he sang metrical psalms to godless and wanton tunes, and even induced his fellow dons to follow his example, or to accompany him "birding" with the younger students. After a scene of more than usual violence, the conforming fellows appealed to Cecil, who summoned Longworth to London and made him sign a recantation which he promised to read to the College. On his return he behaved as though he had gained the victory, and finally, when he read the document, he omitted the parts dealing most severely with himself, and interpolated comments which turned the whole thing into ridicule. Cecil refused, however, to go beyond rebuke, although the disorders spread and Parker was far from satisfied when he related to him the Cambridge troubles. He objected to letters from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners going to private colleges and not to the University, and he hoped that Cecil, having behind him the best men at Cambridge, would not let his authority be "borne underfoot by a brainless head or two." He strongly advised compulsion now that the matter was begun: "Execution of laws and orders must be the first and last part in good governance, although I yet admit moderations for times, places, multitudes." But he saw clearly that the Government intended to proceed along the old lines, and once more he appealed to Cecil "hereafter for God's love never stir any alteration, except it be fully meant to have them established, for else we shall hold us in no certainty but be ridiculous to our adversaries, contemned of our own and give the adventure of more dangers." It was the same old story. The embers of Nonconformity were fanned

into a blaze, and when the fire spread the Government would lend no help to extinguish it.

[AUTHORITIES.—Strype, Dixon, Frere as before. For the Puritan idea of England see the Collect in Sternhold and Hopkins, *Psalter* (1562), p. 401 (Brit. Mus., c. 25, g. 3). For Bullinger's opinion of Puritanism see *Zurich Letters*. For the refusal to wear surplice under Henry VIII see *Visitation MSS.* (Peterboro'), 1543. For the fears of legislation see Strype, *Parker*, App. xxv, xxvii (*Lansd. MSS.*, vi, 88). For Parker's early dealings see *Lansd. MSS.*, vii, 91, and Strype, *Parker* (most documents there). For Queen's Letter see Parker, *Correspondence* No. clxix. For returns of varieties see for Canterbury, Strype, *Parker* i, 364 (undated in *Parker MSS.*, cxxii, 323), for Cambridge in *Parker MSS.* cvi, 627. The general paper is in *Lansdowne MSS.* viii, 7 (incorrect in Strype and elsewhere). For Parker's appeals to Cecil see *Correspondence*, Nos. clxxv-vi-viii. For the Champions' appeal to Leicester see *Lansdowne MSS.*, viii, 45. For Parker's perplexities see *Correspondence*, Nos. clxxix, clxxx-i. For his treatment of Sampson see *ibid.*, clxxxiv-v-vi. For Humphrey's appeal see *S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, xxxvi, 64. For the preachers see *Correspondence*, Nos. clxxvi, clxxx-iii and *Petyt MSS.*, 538, 47, f. 320. For Cambridge see *S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, xxxviii, and *Correspondence*, clxxxviii.]

CHAPTER XIV

THE CRISIS OF 1566

Further
action.

BEFORE the new year the extremists had received disappointing replies from abroad. Bullinger could lend no support to the idea of schism for the sake of vestments. He advised conformity, and doubtless referring to Parker's early effort at conciliation, he considered that "sufficient consideration had been shown to conscience" by the declaration that the cap and surplice were retained without superstitious conceit. The godly Puritans found this letter a great comfort, but it was "gall and wormwood" to the zealots. Conscious, therefore, of the support of the saner foreign reformers, Parker and his brethren once more consulted together. Grindal fell into line and enforced the surplice and a compromise in external apparel in London on February 1st, 1566, which was accepted by eighty per cent. of his clergy. The revolt was not widespread. Sandys treated the contest as of little importance, and Jewel spoke of the linen surplice as disturbing only "weak minds." Humphrey and Sampson, however, renewed their appeal to Bullinger, reiterating the threadbare arguments. Once more there is a break in the chain of evidence. For a few weeks Parker was engaged in the more congenial task of forwarding his edition of the Bible, and corresponding with his friends about ancient manuscripts. But on March 10th, 1566, he had an interview with the Queen, when the position of the "precise folk" was discussed, and he was urged on

in his unwilling task. Two days later he wrote to Cecil on account of the want of support given to him in his endeavours to procure conformity. He had done his best apart from the Crown, and now he desired him to procure Royal authority for the "book of articles," which he had sent him the previous year. If the Queen could enforce regulations about fasting, and abstinence, it was equally possible for her to enforce the apparel, especially as the faction was headed by "only a few in London." He again expressed his doubts, fortified by the lawyers, that it was a difficult matter to proceed to deprivation "having no more warrant but the Queen's Majesty's word of mouth."

But the Queen refused to take official action and left Parker to hope that some of the Privy Council would support him. Thus he determined to proceed against the London clergy in Lambeth Chapel with some previous success behind him and Grindal on his side. He warned Cecil that his determination would produce tumults and fears, and invited him with the Lord Keeper and the Marquis of Northampton to lend him their support by being present after "an evil dinner" at the momentous interview. In the meantime he revised his "book of articles," deleting strong expressions, and by a tactful act of diplomacy in using the Queen's letter of the previous January, he lent them the apparent support of the Royal authority. Thus *The Advertisements*¹ came into

Parker
alone.

¹ It has not been thought necessary to discuss the authority of *The Advertisements* as the subject has been dealt with so fully in recent years. It can be read in the evidence given before the recent Royal Commission and in the Convocation Report on the Ornaments' Rubric.

being. Almost immediately they exercised a wide influence. The bishops knew that the Queen was far from averse to the enforcing of conformity, and they felt that she was behind the new document, though she refused to give it full legal sanction.

"The
Advertisements."

The Advertisements covered a wide area. They included regulations for doctrine and preaching, for administration of prayer and sacraments, certain orders for ecclesiastical policy, and for outward apparel. Many of these items rested on previous orders or administrative acts. But their chief interest lay in the fact that they recognized the length to which conformity in church habits was prepared to go, being content with the use of the surplice in parish churches, with a hood in the choir, and a cope for the three ministers at the Holy Communion, in cathedrals, a use which already obtained at Canterbury. This further episcopal compromise in the matter of vestments was both wise and necessary, as public opinion was against anything more distinctive and the surplice was widely worn. Another concession to the law was made by reducing the number of celebrations of the Holy Communion in cathedrals. The Prayer Book ordered a weekly celebration, Parker and his fellow commissioners were prepared to be satisfied with a celebration once a month. Otherwise there was no quarter given. The Holy Table must be covered with a fair linen cloth, communion must be received kneeling, the font must not be removed, nor basons used for baptism, god-parents must be communicants, and the old external apparel must be worn.

The
Lambeth
meeting.

On March 26th, 1566, Parker, with Grindal and the Chancellor, met the London clergy in Lambeth

Chapel, where Robert Cole, one of their number, stood ready dressed in the habits, so that there could be no mistake. It is doubtful if any of the Council were present. Parker had previously informed Cecil that he "intended to say something to move them to conformity," but no record remains. Earl, however, one of the clergy present, has left a graphic description of the scene itself which has been largely used by Strype. The main point was that they were forced to subscribe to "the Book of Common Prayer, the Convocation Articles, and the Archbishop's¹ book," or be suspended, sequestered or deprived. "Great was the sorrow of most ministers and their mourning, saying we are killed in the soul of our souls for this pollution of yours: for that we cannot perform it in the singleness of our hearts this our ministry, so we abide in most extreme misery, our wives and our babes." It was a day of deep mourning, "the gracious knot of Christian Charity is broken." Thirty-seven refused to conform, among whom Parker found "the best and some preachers." They were suspended and their fruits sequestered, but they were given three months to re-consider their position before being deprived. Parker thought that they would change their attitude through want, especially those who held out only for a "spiced fancy," but with the more conscientious "the wound was yet green," and time would be necessary. Some of the "silly recusants," as he calls them, soon repented, and asked to be restored. Parker was far from bitter towards the really worthy Puritans, but for the factions he had little respect. They were "mere ignorant and vain heads for the most part," and

¹ There is no comma in the original MS.

better out of the ministry. Among the repentant was Earl himself, who records that he was mocked for his change of mind. Parker felt that all would be well if Grindal could be kept active, and Cox looked to the reform of London for the quietness of the realm. At the same time Parker sent *The Advertisements* to his suffragans, describing the action which he had taken in London, and hoping that they would follow his lead with somewhat similar satisfactory results.

Tumults in
London.

But the tumults he had feared soon broke out. Many of the parishes lay vacant and no one could be induced to minister in them. Crowley, the incumbent of S. Giles, Cripplegate, created a scene at a funeral, which caused the interference of the Mayor, by driving the clerks out of church because they wore surplices which he called "porters' coats," perhaps recollecting that Guest had compared the surplice to a "porter's linen garment" in his attempt to make the champions see that it was not superstitious. When Crowley was examined he was found to hold "fond paradoxes that tended to anabaptistical opinions, and was also ready to resist the wolf if he can, meaning the surplice man. He said that until he was discharged his conscience would so move him, whereupon he desired to be discharged." Parker "discharged him of his flock and parish," and confined him to his house. The whole of Holy Week was spent in the painful task of dealing with similar cases. The church doors were shut by the extremists against the congregation, and the attempt to supply the vacant parishes by Parker's chaplains proved a failure. On Palm Sunday, when one of these was reading the passion, a parishioner

stepped up and took away both the cup and the wafer bread which had been prepared for the Communion. Elsewhere the churchwardens refused to provide surplices or bread. Parker was "fully tired with the importunity," and felt that advancing years were beginning to tell. He was now in his sixty-second year. Grindal, who had given him no help all the week, because he was preparing a sermon, must see the London crises through. Seditious preachers were flocking to the city and must be silenced. "Must I still do these things alone?"—the open blows in church over the proceedings, and the crowds of churchwardens and others coming to protest had wearied him physically and mentally. He felt his isolation in dealing with the offenders and that "the burden was laid on his neck while other men drew backward." "All other men must win honour and defence and I only shame to be so vilely reported; and yet I am not weary to bear, to do service to God and to my prince, but an ox can draw no more than he can." It is a pathetic picture—the solitary infamy of discharging a distasteful and unsought task, deserted by the Queen and Council, and yet the splendid determination to be loyal to both though broken beneath the weight of the burden. Cox and Guest alone among the bishops gave him hope and encouragement. Parker saw that things had gone so far that the Council must undertake the hearing of the cases which arose—"Mr. Secretary, can it be thought that I alone, having sun and moon against me, can compass the difficulty." He urged Cecil to transfer everything to them, if the Queen's name, he did not care much for his own, was not to be dishonoured. Thus he discharged his "allegiance, duty,

and conscience," and would promise to proceed no further, but to keep silence and to make his complaints to God. Urged by this ultimatum, the Council shared the work with the Ecclesiastical Commission, and Grindal was compelled to support his metropolitan.

**Literary
warfare.**

Another reason helped to make the Council active. The literary warfare had begun. Before the end of May a Puritan pamphlet appeared entitled *A Brief Discourse against the Outward Apparel and Ministering Garments of the Popish Church*. The old ground is traversed with painful persistency. There is the old misuse of Scripture to prove that "no authority can command what God has not commanded," and that the enforcing of the habits infringed Christian liberty. This manifesto spurred on the sluggish Council. Parker and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners appealed for an Order of Council prohibiting the publication and importation of unlicensed books. On June 29th the Council signed a document drawn up and presented by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to this effect. But Parker felt that a reply was necessary to a book which began to have a wide circulation and influence. Encouraged by his friend, Walter Haddon, he prepared an answer which appeared in due course under the title *A Brief Examination for the time of a certain Declaration lately put in print in the name and defence of certain Ministers in London refusing to wear the Apparel prescribed by the laws and orders of the realm*. This included the opinions of Bucer and Martyr on which Parker had relied earlier in the conflict. He thought this reply would be sufficient for "wise and learned men," while Haddon informed him that the authority of Bucer and Martyr alone

should be sufficient to overthrow vain objectors and to satisfy all that brought sincere minds and not forestalled with error. Undeterred, however, the Puritans continued the contest and published *An Answer for the time to the Examination put in print without the Author's name, pretending to maintain the Apparel prescribed against the Declaration of the Ministers of London*. The whole ground is examined in the method of formal logic, and the *Brief Examination* answered argument for argument by an Examiner and Answerer in turn. Nothing further was added in matter, but much in volume. *The fortress of the Fathers* maintained the position "that neither prince nor prelate may by the word of God make ecclesiastical laws to bind men's consciences under the pain of deadly sin to keep them"—a characteristic sentence. The author of *To my loving brethren that are troubled about the Popish Apparel two short and comfortable Epistles* argued that "by the use of the surplice is maintained a hypocritical opinion of holiness"—the newest contribution to the attack.

But the literary war ceased for a moment as answers arrived to the letters which the extremists and the less strict bishops had sent to the Continent at the rate of almost two a month during the year. The old protagonists, Sampson and Humphrey, were easily first in the length and number of their epistles. Bullinger and Gualter replied to their correspondents and at the same time wrote to Horne, Grindal, and Parkhurst, sending them a copy in order that they "as principal ministers" might know what had taken place. The replies were a severe disappointment. The foreign reformers pointed out that it was not reasonable to be so scrupulous, nor to object to the

"Foreign
Correspondence."

habits because they were relics of popery. Many things used by the papists were not superstitious, such as baptism, the Creeds, the Lord's Prayer, and even the receipt of stipend. They perceived that "no advice would satisfy their minds," but they counselled them as there was now no dispute over the old Mass vestments to wear the surplice and the cap, and that it was of greater importance to accept things indifferent than to desert their flock and work evil to the Church. Bullinger was weary of the "interminable controversy" which "they had entangled in such complicated knots." He "always looked with suspicion on the statements made by Master Sampson." His "restless disposition" never ceased to disturb Zurich and Peter Martyr: "the man is never satisfied, he has always some doubt or other to busy himself with. . . . England has many characters of this sort, who cannot be at rest, who cannot be satisfied, and who have always something or other to complain about. I have certainly a natural dislike to men of this stamp." These replies from abroad were the dregs of a bitter cup, but they stiffened the backs of the vacillating bishops who now began to rally round Parker. Jewel came forward on the side of authority because the question had ceased to be academic and the peace of the Church was at stake. Horne saw dimly that the extremists were ready to desert the ship because the winds were blowing contrary to their special desires. Grindal, at Parker's instigation, was acting more consistently. The appeal to Cæsar had, therefore, not been entirely in vain. Meanwhile Parker was arranging that the deprived clergy should be pardoned their first-fruits and "dispersed," like the papal nonconformists to the confined liberty of

episcopal palaces, where they might be "schooled," and prevented from making the situation more difficult in London. For a moment the vestiarian tumult ceased with the report of Turkish atrocities. Parker deemed it necessary to draw up a form of prayer for the countries invaded, with a special thanksgiving for peace at home, now in danger of being overlooked by the "ungrate forgetfulness" of the nation.

But the conflict soon began again by a renewal of the literary warfare. The Puritans issued another book, entitled *A Brief and lamentable consideration of the Apparel now used by the Clergy of England, set out by a faithful servant of God for the instruction of the weak*. The bishops wisely but rather unfairly—as they did not consult the writers—included in their reply—*Whether it be mortal sin to transgress civil laws which be the commandments of civil magistrates*—the pronouncement from Bullinger and Gualter. Their pamphlet not only contained this letter, but a detailed examination of the *Brief and lamentable discourse* and some correspondence between Cranmer, Bucer, Hooper and John à Lasco. A clever appeal was made to the opinions of the foreign reformers, who were held up by the zealots on the eve of battle as the guides to be followed.

**Renewal of
literary
warfare.**

It is impossible to follow the complicated history further at this point, but there were already signs that Parker had not misjudged the controversy when he informed Cecil that there lay behind it more serious questions than surplice and cap. 'It was but a small step from the original dispute to the disparagement of the Apostolic ministry and of the rites in the Prayer Book. With the one was bound up authority

**Review
of the
Puritan
position.**

and obedience, with the other a hated and despised ceremonial. It is not surprising therefore that there grew up, as yet within the Church, a love for the Presbyterian system and that here and there, although there was no formal schism, "godly meetings" were held in which the rites of the English Church gave place to those of continental origin. This state of affairs may seem somewhat dishonest, judged by twentieth century standards of duty and conscience, but this judgment is the product of religious liberty. It is impossible to cast all the blame on the extremists. Everything was against them. The Church and the Government were so closely allied that active non-conformity would have savoured of disloyalty. The laws against it were severe. Both Puritanism and Anglicanism knew nothing of toleration. For the moment Puritanism was the losing cause, because it did not carry with it the bulk of the people nor the favour of the authorities, and it suffered accordingly. When it came to its own a century later, it was equally intolerant. Toleration is a slow growth. Any criticism, therefore, of Elizabethan Puritanism because it did not at once break away from the society with which it was gradually becoming less and less in agreement in more than matters of detail, must be inadequate if it does not take into consideration the exceptional difficulties of the position, and that as yet there had been no official pronouncement from Rome excommunicating the Anglican Church. Puritanism had not as yet that example before it. Nor must Parker's actions in relation to it be judged apart from like considerations. At every step in the painful history his moderation took the sting out of the severity. As primate of the Church

the path of duty lay clear. With no experience of reformed worship or ministry abroad, his mind could not grasp the liberty which knew no authority beyond private opinion and parochial choice. He had a well-defined conception of discipline, and we should blame him had he not attempted to carry out the regulations of the Church over which he ruled. But the same reasons which held the Puritan unwillingly within the Church alone compelled him to take severe measures. Had he been left to himself, his exercise of authority would have been by moral persuasion, which always narrows the area of revolt, rather than the police method forced on him by the Queen, which only served to spread the dissatisfaction. The Puritan deserves compassion and equally so does his unwilling persecutor.

At the close of the year, Parker's attention was called from the dreary work of deprivation and sequestration to defend himself and his brethren against an unjust attack on the part of the Queen. Parliament, which had been sitting from September, had shown an interest in Church affairs which was not in keeping with the royal idea of the prerogative of the throne. A bill originated in the Commons to give statutory force to the Articles of Religion, or "the little book an. 1562 [3] for the sound Christian religion," as they are called in the journals of the House. After passing the Commons it was read once in the Lords as "the bill for uniformity in doctrine." There is no further notice of it in the journals, but on December 24th Parker wrote that it was "stayed by her Majesty's special commandment." The Queen was highly displeased that Parliament should initiate any measure dealing with religion, but she blamed the

The Queen
attacks the
Bishops.

bishops for having formulated the bill. She specially blamed Parker and bade him question his brethren. Parker protested that he knew nothing of the proceedings in the Commons, and was not present in the Lords on December 16th, when the bill was read. A week later the Archbishop of York exonerated the bench. After an interview with the Queen, Parker explained to Cecil that she did not dislike "the doctrine of the Book of Religion, for that it containeth the religion which she doth openly profess, but the manner of putting forth the book." Elizabeth taught Parliament some necessary lessons before she died. The bishops, however, wished to have the bill made law, and forwarded a memorial to the Queen urging five strong reasons in its favour. On December 24th this was presented by Parker, but Elizabeth dissolved Parliament in a hurry with a sharp speech on January 2nd, and the measure remained hung up till the next Parliament. In describing his interview Parker traced the Queen's anger to the fact that she was "disquieted with informations" emphasized by Cecil's absence from Court. This fits in with an account given by the Spanish Ambassador who visited here the very day the measure was stopped in the Lords to plead on behalf of the Marian party "who were in great disquiet because the heretic bishops were to be enabled by Parliament to forward their evil designs and establish their heresies." It seems clear that he had filled her mind with evil forebodings, and that to him is due her attack on the bishops. He certainly painted the scene between them to the Queen in loud colours and informed his master that they retired "very crestfallen," and Parker was by no means pleased with his reception.

Thus the fears of the Marian party, whose history we now take up, combined with the laxity of the Puritans to obtain for him another undeserved rebuke from the difficult and hot-tempered Queen.

[AUTHORITIES.—Strype, Dixon and Frere as before. For Grindal in London see Earl's Diary (*Univ. Lib. Camb. MSS.*, Mm. 1, 29). For the Bible see Parker, *Correspondence*, Nos. cxci-ii-iv. For his endeavours to have his "Articles" approved see *ibid.*, Nos. cciii, ccxiii. For his procedure with London clergy see *ibid.*, Nos. ccv-vii-ix-x. Earl, *l.c.* Stow, *Chronicles*. The *Advertisements* are in Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* For their history see Parker, *Letter to Lord Selbourne*; J. T. Tomlinson, *The Prayer Book*, etc. For the tumult in London see *Correspondence*, ccxi-xiii-xv. All the Puritan books and their replies are in British Museum, cf. *Correspondence* Nos. ccxvii-xix. The proclamation against unlicensed books is in Strype, *Parker* i, 442. The foreign Correspondence is in the *Zurich Letters*. For Parker's arrangements for the deprived see Strype, *l.c.*, App. lii, and Parker, *Correspondence*, No. ccxix. The prayer after Turkish atrocities is in *Liturgies of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 527, and cf. *Correspondence*, No. ccxxii. For the Queen and bishops see *ibid.*, Nos. ccxxiv-v. D'Ewes *l.c.* and the *Spanish Calendar*.]

CHAPTER XV

THE FAILURE OF RECUSANCY

Recusancy. DURING the early years of Elizabeth's reign the favourers of the Marian régime and the Puritans were indifferently known as "recusants," but when the religious nomenclature began to settle, this term became attached solely to the former party, which from henceforth must be described as Recusants.

The rise of Puritanism in no way blinded the eyes of the authorities to the fact that there existed in the nation a large party loyal to the old religion, and the old traditions. The repression of Puritanism became for the moment more necessary because it was so intimately connected with the Church and so antagonistic to the religious settlement that it threatened to discredit the recognized system and ultimately to destroy the ecclesiastical organization of the country. The peculiar circumstances of the case demanded immediate attention. But the vigilant authorities were far from being completely occupied with Puritanism. The repression of Recusancy was equally part of the Government policy, and both extremes claimed with varied fluctuations the diligent inquisition of Church and State, for both were opposed to the national and statutory Church. In the earlier phases of the struggle between conformity and non-conformity, Puritan and Recusant shared a common prison, chiefly because neither could support the religious policy of the Government, but from 1564

onward the treasonable elements in Recusancy became more and more pronounced, and foreign influences passed from conciliatory letters to the Queen asking for toleration in worship, to active encouragement in organized rebellion. It was only after the failure of the Northern Rising and the Bull of Excommunication that Elizabeth acted consistently. All along Parker was suspicious of her methods. At the time when Leicester was chief favourite at Court he had been goaded on to the unwilling task of actively suppressing Puritanism, and more than once he informed Cecil of his belief that Recusant influences at Court lay behind his distasteful work. Besides, the exiles had begun their literary attacks on the Church at the foreign centres. From Louvain and Antwerp, Dorman, Harding, Stapleton, and Saunders discharged the first broadside in a long and almost interminable conflict, and to Parker's disgust their books were widely read at Court. The Spanish Ambassador at the same time did not fail to notice their influence, and reported it with pleasure and encouragement to his royal master. But the Queen's caprices did not hinder the Government from pursuing its policy. A diligent inquiry was made into the state and opinions of the justices in November, 1564, and Parker's anxiety was much relieved when he found that the majority of them in his diocese were conformable and "not chargeable of any great extremities." Elsewhere, however, there were many popish priests kept in gentlemen's houses, and held in great estimation of the people. The hope had never been completely abandoned that the tide would turn in favour of the old religion, and this hope was

strengthened and emphasized by an incident, in itself purely legal, but interpreted as a sign of the Government's failure, and as a distinct triumph for Recusancy.

Bonner's
case and
the Queen's
caprice.

On 26th April, 1564, Bonner was brought out of the Marshalsea (then in Winchester Diocese) where he had lain for four years to take the oath of supremacy before the Bishop of Winchester. Proceedings were taken under the *Act for the Assurance of the Queen's Royal power*, the severity of which had been mitigated as we have seen by Parker's moderation. It is impossible to decide why Bonner should have been singled out, but all along he had been treated with greater severity than his brethren, and Horne now proceeded against him with the approval of Grindal, his successor, and with Parker's written permission, which he required his suffragans to possess before putting into force the severe penal act. Cecil and the Government, however, were kept in ignorance. As Bonner passed along the streets to Horne's house in S. Saviour's, Southwark, he was greeted with angry tumult mingled with muttered blessings. He stoutly refused the oath, probably at the moment alleging conscientious objections. Horne at the same time proved incapable of drawing up the indictment.

Bonner fell back on his old skill as a legalist. On the 1st May the Bishop reported Bonner's refusal in due form to the Queen's Bench, and the case was put down for hearing at the next Michaelmas sessions. No sooner were these preliminaries over than Bonner drew up objections full of the most minute legal subtleties. Not only did he find fault with many of the terms and definitions in the certificate of his refusal, but he disputed the legality of the whole

incident *ab initio*. The Acts of Parliament were not binding on him because they had no consent of the lords spiritual. "Mr. R. Horne" was not lawfully Bishop of Winchester, as he had been appointed contrary "to the laws of the Catholic Church and the statutes and ordinances of this realm, especially the statute 25, Henry VIII, c. 20, where in effect is required that he that is to be consecrated must, among other things, have one archbishop and two bishops, or else four bishops at the consecration, which the said Dr. Horne had not." It is very difficult to arrive at Bonner's full meaning. His interpretation of the Henrician statute is clearly wrong, and it is possible that his objection was a veiled attack on Parker's consecration, as Parker had allowed the prosecution. But the legal difficulties predominated. Doubts were clearly cast in the *supplentes*¹ clause in Elizabeth's second letters patent for Parker's consecration, and on the position of the Edwardine Ordinal, which had as yet no statutory authority behind it. It was decided that the problem should await solution till the next session of Parliament in 1566. Bonner remained in the Marshalsea with the satisfaction of knowing that he had placed both the bishops and the Government in a decidedly awkward position. Meanwhile the hopes of the Recusants rose. Bonner wrote a flattering letter to the Queen, urging conscientious objections, as he had done earlier in the case, and the Queen acted in her usual tantalizing manner. She led the Spanish Ambassador to believe that all the changes were not to her liking, and in spite of the objections, urged with force and volume, the cross still remained in the

¹ See Appendix II.

royal chapel. Elizabeth had no intention of yielding to persuasion, and two years later after a scene of violence when the cross was thrown down, she restored it again to Parker's disgust. Parker, indeed, was blamed for urging her in this direction, and in his defence to Cecil he not only denied any responsibility, but maintained that the cross was an offence to his own moderate opinions and inexpedient from the point of view of practical politics. In the North Bonner's success was treated as a religious triumph. Archbishop Young informed the Queen that the spirit of unrest was due to the failure of the Government in bringing the case to a satisfactory issue.

Nowell's
disgrace.

Another event helped to encourage the party. On Ash Wednesday, 1565, Parker and some of his brethren met the Queen and Court at Westminster, whither they had come to hear Dean Nowell preach. In the course of his sermon Nowell made a digression in order to attack some "lewd popish book lately published," in all probability Marshall's *Treatise on the Cross*. Many in the congregation were obviously offended when he denounced its "irreverence" and "impudence," and because he complained that it was "liked much of some indiscreet subjects." His references to images and idolatry called forth a rebuke from the Queen, who loudly told him to leave his digression and return to his subject. Nowell concluded in confusion, and Elizabeth left the church in haste and anger. Some were moved to tears, but to the Recusants the scene provided further hopes, especially when they noticed that from henceforth the Court preachers "modified their sermons and their example was followed elsewhere." The episode made a deep impression on Parker. It was

another example of the difficulties created by the Queen, especially at a moment when he was her unwilling servant in attempting to fulfil her wishes in regard to uniformity. He made common cause with Nowell: "for pure pity I took home to dinner with me Mr. Dean of Paul's yesterday; he was utterly dismayed. God send us of His grace." The next day, doubtless under Parker's direction, Nowell wrote a dignified defence to Cecil, but nothing was done to rectify things in public. Puritanism continued to suffer, and, as Parker feared, the Recusants grew more confident as they saw the measures dealt out to the extreme reformers.

Further disappointments were in store. When Parliament met in 1566 an Act was passed legalizing the Edwardine Ordinal, which, if the Spanish Ambassador is to be believed, was petitioned for by Parker and his brethren. While it remedied in a perfectly constitutional way the legal defects, it left Bonner triumphant. In spite of frequent conferences between the bishops and much debate, it was enacted that no one should be impeached or molested concerning his refusal to take the oath of supremacy tendered by any archbishop or bishop, and that the tendering of any such oath by any archbishop or bishop shall be void and of none effect. Efforts were made to induce the Queen to withhold her consent as the Act went beyond and did not fulfil the wishes of the episcopate, and would in a measure weaken their hands. But the Queen duly signed the bill. There can be little doubt about the justice of the clauses concerning the oath, but on the other hand the bench of bishops, from Parker down, was largely disgraced. The disapproval of their dealings with

**Further
disgrace
of the
bishops.**

Bonner lowered them in public estimation. However, they began the case on their own authority, and they had only themselves to thank for the issue. Instead of weakening the Recusant cause, as they had intended, they succeeded in giving it a successful champion in Bonner. Thus the severer penalties were mitigated and the Recusants merely suffered fine or imprisonment for nonconformity or presence at secret celebrations of the Latin Mass. Parker's early moderation in regard to the penal acts and Bonner's success combined to take the sting out of the persecution and to make it mild in comparison with the customs of the age and the provisions of the law. However, while a considerable number gradually conformed and many fled the country, there remained scattered throughout the country—especially in the North—a strong body who were determined to stand firm and to whom persecution, whether severe or mild, meant an incentive to greater fidelity to their cause, and a more resolute determination to resist the law. Broadly speaking, wide sympathy must be extended to the conscientious Recusant. He had heard the Reformation heralded in England as the coming of a purer faith and as the restorer of a higher life and a more sincere approach to God. But around him he saw little that came anywhere near the ideal. The bitterness of party spirit, the wholesale destruction of all that the piety of former generations had provided, the decrease of services, the low state of morals, and the greed of courtiers did little to give him confidence in the new movement. It is little wonder that he turned away disgusted, and resolved to resist to the end a force which had as yet fulfilled little of its higher and promised aims.

Directly or indirectly Parker came in contact with Recusancy in the different dioceses. It may be said, broadly speaking, that in each county there existed in varying degrees of strength loyalty to the old religion. There is much evidence in the State papers, but this must be carefully weighed if a broad estimation of the general strength is to be obtained. It is specially necessary to remember the administrative character of the bishop and that generalizations are common in giving accounts of the state of the dioceses. Some idea, however, must be obtained of the state of the country. In the Southern province the religious settlement had gradually received the approval of the people, but signs are not wanting of unrest. When Parker visited Chichester on the death of Barlow he found much "popery." Many refused communion at Easter, or left the place till after Easter. Some of the gentlemen communicated in their own chapels or "fetched a priest from far" who did not use the Book of Common Prayer. In many parishes the books of the foreign Recusants were eagerly read, and money was sent abroad for their support. Elsewhere when the minister preached against the Pope the people left the church. Much superstitious bell-ringing continued "as before in the time of blind ignorance." The old folk and women continued to use their beads and popish primers during the services. Roods stood, or where taken down remained ready to be restored. In many places the popish ornaments were ready to set up the Mass again in twenty-four hours. In Canterbury things were in a better state. From the elaborate returns of Parker's visitation it appears that he had been successful in gaining the allegiance of the people. There

The state
of the
country.

were many preachers and the communicants numbered more than three to each family. In the Universities, however, he was not so fortunate. The broad contrast still continued. Cambridge favoured the changes with isolated colleges dissatisfied, but Oxford continued disloyal with isolated colleges satisfied. At King's College, Cambridge, there was much "popish stuff" and relics of the Marian times were preserved by the provost "against a day." At Gonville and Caius the master—John Caius—maintained all "the massing abominations." Caius seems to have been a disguised papist who enjoyed Parker's friendship, as he selected him to reply to a book in which the greater antiquity of Oxford was defended. His letter enclosing his work to Parker is full of protestations of friendship and much amusing self-consciousness and secrecy. The work must not be shown to Mr. Josselin, Parker's chaplain, as he will speak of it prematurely and not improve it by any suggestions which he could make. Indeed "no man must see it." If the Archbishop desired to make any correction "note it *seorsum* for avoiding diversities of styles." Something he knew Parker wished him to omit, but the scribe inserted them before he was aware and "I would have put them out but for blotting the book and disgracing the same to the eye." He was deprived from attendance on the Queen as a Recusant in 1568. Parker also had trouble at Cambridge with the Puritan faction who refused the Latin Prayer Book, saying the "Latin service was the Pope's dress." At his old college there were many misdemeanours as well in manners as in doctrine, and when Parker issued a commission of inquiry the vice-chancellor denied its

authority as prejudicial to the interests of the University. He refused to allow a certain "principal party" named Stallard to appear before the Archbishop at Lambeth. "He withstood a search for suspected books," and on his own authority he "unsealed the door," and began a search himself. Parker was astonished at his audacity, considering that "divers stubborn papists and head adversaries of God's true religion" had been removed from the Universities by a similar authority. But Recusancy did not flourish in the Puritan atmosphere of Cambridge. The danger there lay in the excess of reforming zeal rather than in any widespread loyalty to the old religion. In Oxford the position was exactly the reverse. All along, Oxford had remained truer to the Marian traditions and the earlier attempts at repression had only quieted this spirit of conservatism. It is not clear by what means Parker's attention was now called to the state of the University, but he proceeded to active measures and urged on his brethren. At All Souls he directed the warden, Richard Barber, to deface the plate and to draw up "a perfect inventory containing the form and fashion of the said plate, and also the number and fashion of their vestments and tunicles which serve not to use at these days." The result of this order was to reveal a strong Recusant party. The Warden and fellows were directed to send up to London their "monuments of superstition," which consisted chiefly of old service books, the Warden and one fellow being personally summoned. Within a month four of the fellows were ordered to appear before the Ecclesiastical Commission at Lambeth. The college, however, continued to cling to the old "popish gear" until

later Puritanism effected a complete clearance. In Merton College some of the fellows preferred "in idle pleasure to wear out their lives," and withstood Parker's order enforcing the foundation statute that three at least should take orders. They appealed through the Attorney-General, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, against the injunction that the three seniors should be ordained or be deprived. Parker wrote and informed him that he intended to be firm, adding the sly conjecture that "if there be no preachers to maintain Christ's religion, to move the subjects' hearts in persuasion of obedience to the prince and the tenants to their landlords, neither Westminster Hall will long continue nor outward force will rule the matter." At other colleges Horne found the same stout resistance which existed a few years before, and once again called in Parker's aid to facilitate his visitations. The history of Recusancy in the other Oxford colleges must be read elsewhere and is only indirectly connected with Parker as primate or as a member of the Ecclesiastical Commission. Parker at times grew weary of the dreary work, especially as he observed that visitations were urged chiefly where there was money to be made by selling church and college goods. He foretold days of "roaring and rooking in the realm" because of their methods. "I would we all proceeded in godly quiet with thanks to God for our peace." Much as he hated Recusancy he hated robbery more.

The state
of London.

In London both extremes flourished apace. Not only was it the strongest centre of Puritanism, but Recusancy found much sympathy and many followers. Many circumstances combined to promote this success. Foreign literature reached the capital

almost sooner than any other port. and the presence of the foreign ambassadors encouraged and stimulated disloyalty. Besides, as we have seen, the severe repression of the Puritans, naturally the bitterest foes to Rome, was a cause for joy and hope to their opponents. Much of the boldness of Recusancy in London was due to the Queen who countenanced the Latin Mass with open doors at the house of the Spanish Ambassador, while the house of the Portuguese Ambassador was also a centre for disloyal worship. Both houses occupied the attention of the Ecclesiastical Commission, as it was becoming clear that too strong a body rallied round these papal agents. Parker was especially concerned about the public confidence which the Recusants in London had assumed and he soon proceeded to inquire into the ways of the London lawyers, among whom Recusancy appears to have found a favourable home. He drew up interrogatories which were presented to the suspect. Enquiries were made concerning church attendance and regular communion, speaking against clerical marriage, calling the preachers "knaves and crow-catchers," retaining and reading the books of the foreign exiles, or receiving treasonable letters from beyond the seas. It was found that church attendance was slack and intermittent, that communions were rarer still, and that some were not above the suspicion of hearing "Mass, mattins and evensong in Latin, or being shriven or houseled after the popish manner." Cecil appears to have dealt out severe punishments. Those who refused to conform must be "put out of commons and lodging in the house, forbear giving counsel to any of the Queen's subjects as common pleaders, and from resorting to any bar

of any court : and thus to continue till they shall reconcile themselves to observe the laws ecclesiastical." All along, however, the acceptance of the changes by the lawyers was doubtful, and Recusancy was strengthened by the support of the most brilliant men among them. For the moment the Inns of Court were reduced to order, but two years later disorder again broke out, and Parker wrote to Cecil, now Lord Burghley, asking him to obtain the authority of the Council for a document which he enclosed. It appears that the benchers had recalled some who had been expelled, and Parker ordered them to appear before him in order that full enquiry might be made. Several lawyers were expelled.

The
new Pope
and the
Northern
Rebellion.

It was in the Northern province, however, that Recusancy was strongest, and Parker's prophecy that the spiritual neglect there early in the reign would produce the evil results of both political and religious disloyalty proved only too true. In the meantime the accession of a new Pope, Michael Ghislieri, as Pius V, on January 8th, 1566, had encouraged the cause. He was a whole-hearted papist, to whom action was everything, and as an active foe to all the reformed churches it was soon apparent that he was not prepared to stop at the half-measures of his predecessors with regard to England. Indeed, his accession was hailed in England by a severe proclamation against papal books, and this early care was but the beginning of the watchful policy of the Government which will appear during the history of the Northern Rebellion. Sanders and Harding, the veteran controversialists, received permission from the new Pope to reconcile to the Church of Rome those who had conformed to the Anglican schism. In

November Lawrence Vaux arrived in England for the purpose of fulfilling this policy. No great measure of success attended his efforts, but when a definite bull of reconciliation arrived in the following autumn the restlessness of the North became more pronounced. Already measures had been taken to improve matters in the diocese of Chester, where, as before, Downham was a failure. The Queen wrote and urged him into action, and Nowell of S. Paul's preached throughout the diocese in favour of loyalty and conformity. The gentry especially were found troublesome, and ten of them were sent up to the council in London, among them Sir John Southworth, who was committed to the care and persuasion of Parker at Croydon. He refused the oath, "but promised not to receive or sustain any such disordered persons as heretofore he hath sustained and holpen." It is unnecessary to trace out his case in detail, but this promise throws light on much of the history. Recusant priests had begun to come secretly into the North and were lodged at the different country houses in their journeyings. Their chief aim was to promote disloyalty, not only to the Church but to the throne. Among them, at a later date, came Dr. Nicolas Morton, bearing the momentous news from Rome that Elizabeth was *ipso facto* deposed as a heretic, and the more welcome gift of a considerable sum of money. Morton was a low-class spy, and his machinations lie behind much of the Northern Revolt. Two events lent support to the efforts of these emissaries and secret agents. On May 16th, 1568, Mary, Queen of Scots, fled from the defeat of Langside, and threw herself on the mercy of Elizabeth. Every circumstance combined to make her own misfortunes

unfortunate for others. The romance of her struggle in Scotland, her personal beauty, her championship of the old religion, and the possibility of her succeeding to the throne of England, at once made a tremendous tangle of the already complicated Northern problem. Round her gathered many of the Northern gentry, and in a moment of tragic blunder Elizabeth decided to keep her in England, but as a prisoner, not as a guest. Thus her release was an ostensible excuse for rebellion, and her presence a source of inspiration to a people ripe for organized revolt. Still worse, Philip of Spain recalled Don Guzman De Silva, and sent in his room Don Gueran De Spes, who arrived in England on September 3rd, 1568. He at once proceeded to mix himself up with all the treasonable causes in the kingdom, and Mary's in particular. De Spes was a consummate and arrogant plot-hatcher. The dreary cause dragged itself along with ever-increasing difficulties. Elizabeth found that Mary was not only fascinating the Recusant nobility, but the conformist as well. They sought to marry her to the Duke of Norfolk, and to name her Elizabeth's successor, provided she promised to maintain the Church of England. Elizabeth grew frightened and Norfolk was lodged in the Tower. Nothing but divided councils rendered the revolt a complete fiasco, although the Government had already taken action. Perceiving the religious side, the magistrates were compelled to subscribe that it was their bounden duty to observe the Act of Uniformity, and that they and their families would resort to Common Prayer and receive Holy Communion from time to time. To meet the treasonable side, arms were being provided, and Parker urged the bishops and clergy of both

provinces to supply armour and horses according to a specified rate. In November, 1569, the two great Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland raised the standard of revolt, and Mass was said in Durham. They issued a proclamation setting forth the aim of the rising, emphasizing especially the desire to restore "the true and catholic religion." This religious aspect was kept pronouncedly to the front, and the revolt almost at once assumed the character of a religious crusade. Holy emblems figured on the banners, and a cross "carried by an old gentleman with a reverend grey beard" preceded the army. On the other hand, the Earl of Sussex, who commanded the opposing levies, equally kept up the religious side by sermons and the Litany among his men. But the rebels soon showed themselves not merely irreverent fanatics but incapable soldiers, and Sussex harried them mercilessly. Within a few weeks the Earls fled over the border, and their followers gradually dispersed. Thus the Rebellion never came to any pronounced issue. Sussex condemned a considerable number of rebels to death, and liberal fines replenished the coffers of the needful Queen. In Cumberland Leonard Dacre made an attempt in February, 1570, to raise again the standard of revolt, but Lord Hunsdon, the Governor of Berwick, inflicted a severe defeat on Dacre at the River Gelt, although Dacre had the advantage in numbers and position. This defeat was the end of organized rebellion. Efforts were now made to quiet the minds of the people. Sir John Cheke's *Hurt of Sedition* was quickly reprinted, and Parker undertook the composition of a "Homily against disobedience and wilful rebellion," in which a graphic picture is

given of the religious crusade. It was specially provided in all the churches. Once again an effort was made by proclamation to stop the supply of seditious books which continued to pour in from abroad, and the Northern bishops in their forthcoming visitations made diligent inquiries concerning refugee priests, Recusants, and treasonable literature.

The Queen
excom-
municated.

These various efforts might have succeeded in stamping out Recusancy had not Pius V been so determined to bring matters to a crisis. Already he had supported the Earls by letters, emissaries, and the sinews of war, and now, unconscious of the failure of the revolt, he wrote on February 22nd, 1570, promising increased support, and a fortnight previously he had begun a formal process at Rome against Elizabeth, when a number of English exiles were examined and gave evidence against her. On the 17th the case was concluded. The Queen was excommunicated and deposed, and the faithful were dispensed from their oaths. Finally, on February 25th, by means of the bull *Regnans in excelsis*, Pius V cut off the Anglican Church from communion with Rome, and the Recusants became Roman Catholics. Urging all the claims of the papacy in high-sounding style, he shattered for ever the hopes of his followers in England by excommunicating the Queen. It was now no longer a question of conformity or nonconformity, but one of loyalty or disloyalty to the throne. To the dismay of foreign nations, to the delight of the Spanish ambassador, the bull was nailed on the Bishop of London's gate by one of the ambassador's household, a gentleman named John Felton. Felton, braving the issue, was condemned for high treason, and put to death in the most awful manner. His

death was the first step in the severe repression of Roman Catholicism, as we must now call Recusancy. But it is clear that treason and plots figure in the processes more than religion.

For the moment the bull fell flat. Many replies came forth and Parker selected that written by Henry Bullinger as worthy of presentation to the Queen. Efforts were even made to disentangle treason and religion by a declaration in the Star Chamber to the effect that punishment was meted out only for breach of the statute law. But the Northern Rebellion and the action of Pius V had aroused such an outburst of loyalty that it was clear that the days of mildness were over, and that the country would sooner or later demand severity against those who should attempt to shatter the political unity of the nation. When Parliament assembled in the following April, severe measures were passed, which were really the national answer to the bull. It was declared high treason to bring in or publish any printed bulls or absolutions—the aiders and abettors being liable to *præmunire*, as well as those who brought in the *Agnus Dei*, crosses, pictures, beads, and such like from the see of Rome. Almost at once repressive measures began to meet the papal plots which sprang up over the country, and almost to the end of his life Parker was more or less connected with the work. Some members of the gentry were regularly committed to his care, as had been the case with the Puritans. After the massacre of St. Bartholomew he became generally more suspicious, and was inclined to abandon some of his mildness. Burghley was at “his wits’ end,” and confidently expected something similar to happen in England, while Parker confessed

Parliamentary
action and
repressive
measures.

himself ready to be "carried away with the floods when they shall arise." Indeed, he demanded more active measures and a less compromising policy on the part of the Queen if the kingdom was to be saved from the foreign yoke. His loyalty to her and to her mother urged him to believe that an inconsistent and vacillating policy would be fatal to the national interests. He therefore determined to give Elizabeth some idea of the spread of disloyalty. He informed her that it would be an "infinite matter" to return lists of all the papists who grew apace. His fears had become so great that he even advised the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, "that desperate person," and that thus "the papists' daily expectation" would vanish. Many publicly rejoiced over St. Bartholomew, and as they advised a like remedy for "heresy," he thought that they should be disarmed. In the form of prayer which he drew up after the massacre, he inserted a petition for the prevention of a like misfortune in England. He ordered his suffragans to make strict enquiries in their dioceses for persons "papistically inclined," and he undertook the supervision of a reply to "Sanders's babbling book"—*De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiae*. Thus in more ways than one he did his utmost to repress disloyalty, and within a few months of his death he was actively engaged in examining papists.

Parker's
position.

The theological side hardly appears at all—almost immediately after the bull, Recusancy became hopelessly mixed up with treason. It was Elizabeth or the Pope. It is not surprising, therefore, to find Parker taking a bold line. All along one of his most pronounced characteristics was loyalty to the Queen, and this loyalty all along led him into periods of

anxiety and fear. He greatly believed in promptness which would he thought prevent severity in the issue. Mild and gentle by nature, he could not understand the position which sought to shatter the internal peace of the country by all kinds of secret and disconcerting plots. It has been too largely claimed that these plots were for conscience sake, but even if this were abundantly proved, it is certain that Parker would have kept a careful eye on the conscience which needed the support of spies, traitors, and foreign gold, and eliminated patriotism completely from its consideration. Nor is it necessary to say much on Parker's interference in these political matters. The traditions of the relationship between the prelacy and politics had hardly begun to disappear: even his personal attachment to the Queen through all the vicissitudes of her caprice would be sufficient excuse.

[AUTHORITIES.—Strype, Dixon, Frere, Dom Birt as before. For Parker and the foreign books at Court see *Correspondence*, and compare the *Spanish Calendar*. For the first return of magistrates see Camden Miscellany ix, and *Hatfield MSS.* (Hist. MSS., Cam.) i, 1204. For Bonner's case see the *Spanish Calendar*, S. P. Dom. Eliz. xxxiv, 1. *Coram Rege Roll* (Record Office) 1210, *Harleian MSS.*, cccxxi, and Church Historical Society's Publications, No. 22. For the Queen's caprice see *Spanish Calendar* and Parker, *Correspondence*, No. cclxxxvi. For Young on North See S. P. Dom, *Eliz. Add.* xi. For Nowell's sermon see Strype, *Parker* i, 318. *Spanish Calendar*, and Parker, *Correspondence*, No. clxxvi. For Chichester see S. P. Dom. Eliz., lx, 71, 2. For Canterbury *ibid.* For the state of the Universities, see the histories of the different colleges in the *College History Series*, also compare Parker, *Correspondence*, Nos. ccxxix, cclxiv, ccxxvii, ccxxx, ccl. *Parker MSS.*, cxiv, and the *Horne Register*. For the state of London see the *Spanish Calendar*, S. P. Dom. *Eliz.*, xlviii, 26, lx, 70, *Petyt MSS.*, 538, 47, f. 342. Parker, *Correspondence*, ccxc-i. For the Proclamation against books see Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.*, No. lxvi. For Chester see S. P. Dom. *Eliz.*, xlvi, 33. *Correspondence*, No. cclii. For the new

Ambassadors' plots see *Spanish Calendar*. For second inquiry into the magistrates see *S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, xlviii, 69, and returns *ibid.*, lix and lx. For the Northern Rebellion see Bp. Collins, *Queen Elizabeth's defence of her proceedings in Church and State* (Ch. Hist. Soc., No. lviii) *Zurich Letters*, Camden, *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, xviii. For the Bull see Cardwell, *l.c.*, No. lxxiv. For the Parliamentary action see D'Ewes, *l.c.* and Collins, *l.c.* For Parker's fears see *Correspondence*, Nos. ccxcvii, ccciv. The form of prayer is in *Lit. Ser. Qu. Eliz.*, p. 462. For the reply to Sanders see *Correspondence*, ccxciii-xv.]

CHAPTER XVI

VISITATIONS : THE NEW PURITANISM

DURING the rise and defeat of the Recusant revolt Parker's attention had not been wholly occupied with the fears which it engendered in his mind. The administrative work of his province and diocese claimed increasing attention, not only because of the wide unrest which offended his sense of authority and discipline, but because the Queen and Council were more fully determined than ever to reduce the country to a state of uniformity and loyalty to the national Church. The minor details of his activity during these years are too transitory to record, but there are some items of wider interest which largely group themselves round visitations.

Immediately after the Puritan crises of 1566 Parker visited the Cathedrals of his province and administered a set of nine articles based almost entirely on those which he used in 1560. They were, however, directed especially at Norwich Cathedral, where grave scandals existed, and a commission was issued in September, 1557, to visit that body. The replies made to the enquiries by one of the prebendaries, George Gardiner, are forthcoming, and these throw an interesting light on the state of affairs. Some of the prebendaries were not "ministers," and one went in "a cloke with a Spanish cape and a rapier by his side." Three never attended the Cathedral at all, "unless it be to fetch their money." One, Sir John Toller, was suspected of adultery and was "a

Visitations
of Norwich
Cathedral
and
diocese.

great brawler." The services and state of the church were found in better condition. Divine service was duly and regularly sung, but the master of the choristers lacked authority, and the choristers were "very evil ordered." Gardiner, however, desired "the service sung more deliberately," with a hymn or psalm at the beginning or ending "in the best sort of melody and music that may be devised." Parker also found it necessary to visit the diocese as well as the cathedral, as Parkhurst continued to show himself incapable. It was now overrun with "papists and puritans." The reasons alleged for this unsatisfactory state of affairs were that the bishop had not visited for seven years, that many livings had been acquired by simony and that many lay deserted. Parkhurst blamed his late chancellor, who appears to have been of the usual type of Elizabethan ecclesiastical officials, but he welcomed Parker's visitation in the hope that things would not be found so bad as reported. The orders which Parker used were largely based on the metropolitan visitation of 1563, but certain changes worthy of notice appear. For the first time in visitation documents *The Advertisements* are enforced, but qualified by that vague phrase, "set forth by public authority." It is unlikely that Parker would have used such a description could he have written "Queen's Majesty's Authority." Norwich was in such a disordered state that he needed as much authority behind him as possible. The clergy were forbidden to administer baptism in basons, and the Holy Communion in any "profane cups, bowls, dishes, or chalices heretofore used at Mass." The series of orders proper was prefixed by six "instructions" to the visitors. They were

required to enforce the ecclesiastical laws of the realm, to take precautions that the churchwardens allowed no unlicenced preachers, to see that the fees of the diocesan courts were not excessive nor unusual, to order the provision in every church of the visitation orders and *The Advertisements*, at the charge of fourpence, and to divide the surplus procurations after the visitation among the poor and needy clergy who kept hospitality.

At the conclusion of the visitation Parker found that "Gehazi and Judas had a wonderful haunt in the country," and that the buying and selling of benefices was quite common. That one of the prebendaries of the cathedral was "a serving man not ordered, a mere lay body," who had been simonically presented by Lord Bacon. Bacon "had another at home at his house," appointed under like conditions. He protested against Parker's action in taking the case in hand. Both of these prebendaries had refused the visitors' summons to be present at the visitation, trusting that their powerful patron would obtain their pardon and "bearing themselves great under my lord's authority." The visitors thereupon reported the circumstances to Parker, who consulted Bacon, and he in turn denied that he remembered the prebendaries referred to. The visitors then stopped the stipend of one who hastened to Lambeth. Parker found him a man of no small ability, and suggested to him the possibility of his taking Orders. This, however, he refused, but he offered at the same time to resign his prebend to another man in Orders on condition that he received a pension of five pounds, guaranteed by the Dean and Chapter. Unfortunately during the negotiations it emerged that he had made

**Parker's
dispute
with
Bacon.**

himself responsible for the payment of five pounds to Bacon's nephew studying at Cambridge. The scandal was grave, and to Parker's upright nature, disgusting. He wrote a long and earnest letter to Lady Bacon, telling her in detail the circumstances of the case and the depth of his grief at Lord Bacon's resentment—a grief which he kept from his wife as the friendship of years allowed even no such betrayal on his part. This letter may be justly placed in the same group as those in which he refused the primacy. The clean hands and the honest heart of the man emerge from beneath the sorrow produced by the breach with his old friend, and the protestations against the ill-treatment measured out to him by the hard verbal messages of Bacon's servant. Even the Queen, by whom he was "well chidden," was offended, but "with one ear I heard her hard words, and with the other in my conscience and heart I heard God." He was determined that nothing should move him from the course of duty: if others will be offended God will be content. For himself he cared not, but he was "jealous over Bacon's conscience and over his honourable name." It became the "poor pastor" to warn the man "great in office" whom he had upheld in good and evil report and compared with More, Audeley, and Bishop Goodrick for eloquence, wit, and learning in law. The world will wonder if a friendship such as theirs is broken, and quarrels among the Queen's favourites will prove an evil example. Yet neither "King nor Cæsar" contrary to his duty to God would compel him to purchase amity at the price of dishonour. "I am grown now into a better consideration by mine age than to be afeared or dismayed with such vain

terriculaments of the world. I am not now to learn how to fawn upon man *cujus spiritus in naribus ejus* ; or that I have to learn how to repose myself quietly under God's protection against all displeasure of friends and against all malignity of the enemy. I have often said and expended that verse, *cadent a latere tuo mille, etc.* In this mind I trust to live and die." Nothing can illustrate better the extreme difficulty of Parker's task in "this brittle time," as he called it. On the one hand, urged to enforce discipline and conformity, on the other slandered and condemned when attempting to put down prevalent evil. But this inconsistency was characteristic. To the Queen and Council the surplice and square cap were more necessary than honest dealing and clean hands. Elizabeth could imprison Puritan and Recusant, and she could rob bishoprics, and aid and abet others in despoiling the Church. Whatever Parker's failings may have been, no charge of dishonesty can be laid against him. Nor was the man weak who risked the friendship of the Queen and her chief ministers in the cause of duty and uprightness.

Two years later Parker visited his own diocese, enforcing as a rule old injunctions, but a new one appears of more than passing interest. Elizabeth had reinforced and extended an Edwardine Act, which provided that two collectors should be appointed in every parish to collect the weekly offerings of the people for the relief of the poor. Parker now proceeded to enforce this Act, and required the parishioners not to fail in their duty. It is noteworthy that almost at the beginnings of the poor-law system the Church was so closely connected with it and that to the episcopate fell the duty of enforcing

Visitation
of
Canterbury
Cathedral
and
diocese.

enactments which were meant to meet an increasingly difficult problem. Parker also entered upon an elaborate visitation of his cathedral. Service was completed in choir on the morning of July 3rd at eight o'clock. The whole body stood on either side of the choir, while the dean, prebendaries and preachers went to the palace to conduct the Archbishop to the church. On his entering, the choir went before him, singing an anthem. When they were placed, the Litany was sung, and then the *Veni Creator* before the sermon, which was preached by the dean, but not before "all the extern laity were commanded out by the beadle." During this visitation Parker rearranged the residences of the cathedral body, the regulations governing rents, repairs, leases, and the receptions of strangers, and among other things he forbade burials in the sanctuary. It was also "agreed that the vestments and other vestry stuff remaining in the vestry shall be viewed and sold, reserving some of the copes."

The Communion bread.

A matter of wider interest now occupied his attention, not only because it produced dissatisfaction at Court, but because there gathered round it much unrest and debate. A great variety existed in the kind of bread used for the Holy Communion. In the majority of churches it seems that round wafer bread was used, but an increasing number used ordinary household bread, against the wishes of Parker and the Bishop of London. The latter had informed the Archbishop that Cecil heard questionings at Court, and that the Secretary was not clear what bread was provided for by law. Parker wrote to Cecil in defence of the bread ordered by the Royal Injunctions, "singing cakes which served for the use of the

private Mass but somewhat bigger," but he also told him that where there was any fear of superstition or offence he interpreted the words of the rubric, "it shall suffice," as not excluding "fine usual bread" in the communions. At the same time many people disliked the latter, which he feared was now used at Court to the "great disquiet babbling" of the realm. Once again, however, the Queen goaded Parker on to action. Cecil wrote to him informing him of her displeasure and desiring a specimen of the bread agreed upon by the bishops. Parker, in reply, sent him "the form of bread used," but protested against any new persecution. He pleaded for charity in such an unimportant matter, especially as they were in unity regarding the doctrine of the sacrament and not hampered with the teachings of Luther or Zwingli. He begged the Secretary to consider the comfort "they might receive in the said sacrament if dissension were not so great with us." He asked conciliatory measures by proclamation or some other way. A few years later when the controversy threatened grave disturbances in Norwich, Parker continued to plead for toleration and advised Parkhurst to be moderate, and not to impose any special kind of bread.

Troubles began to gather fast and quick round Parker. He was now almost seventy. To the burden of office and years were added more frequent attacks of a severe complaint, which at times caused him intense pain and laid him aside from active work. In addition an attack was made on his life. Some Sons of Belial, as he calls them, pierced several large holes in the bottom of his barge, and only a chance discovery prevented him from being "drenched in

Troubles
and Signs
of failing
power.

the midst of the Thames." A few months after this outrage, on August 17th, 1570, his wife died—"Margaret, my most dearly beloved and most virtuous wife, who lived with me some twenty-six years, and died right Christianly"—and he began to suffer from fits of depression. He informed Cecil that he "had much ado to gather his wits and memory together," and the Queen that his insufficiency of speech and weakness of mind kept him from Court. There were thus many signs of failing power under the pressure of bereavement. In addition, the Queen pursued a policy detrimental to the Church. Although York had been filled by the translation of Grindal from London, who went there to Parker's great relief, yet letter after letter passed between Parker and Cecil over the vacant sees: "There cannot be too many watchmen, which Latimer was wont to say; and that there is one diligent watchman ever resident which never ceaseth to walk about for his preys." He gathered strength, however, for the coming convocation and for a last struggle with Puritanism.

The new
Puritan-
ism.

During the Recusant crises, Puritanism had gained strength in secret, and when it appeared once more in the arena of religious controversy it was evident that important changes had taken place in its methods and aims. The older school was dying out, so to speak, and a comparative peace reigned over surplice and cap. To the younger members of the party the vestiarian controversy meant little. They had been suckled at the very bosom of the Genevan system, and the Presbyterian form of Church government represented to them the divine ideal. They had no traditions of toleration such as had been extended to their

predecessors in the earlier Puritan crises, and with all the enthusiasm of youth they were prepared to throw down the gauntlet of defiance and to challenge the ministry of the Church. Once again Parker was smitten in the house of his friends. The battle opened in his old University, under the leadership of Thomas Cartwright, lately appointed Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity. From the chair of Chaderton, who had honourably upheld the ministry of the Church, he boldly attacked the episcopal form of government. Bishops, he declared, were "tyrannous," and archbishops, deans and archdeacons were but "offices and names of impiety." Cartwright had many qualities for a leader. He was a man of immense learning, and this, with a natural gift for public speaking, carried conviction with his audiences. His character was upright, and his piety was great and sincere. In addition, he was an enthusiast inspired with a profound belief in the righteousness of his cause and prepared to defend it with wholehearted service. No sooner had he made his challenge than May, the vice-chancellor, complained to Cecil, and a long wordy correspondence began. It was at once evident that Cartwright had not made his attack in vain. His scholarship and piety attracted the older men, who were prepared to trust him for these reasons alone, apart perhaps from any deep convictions, but to the younger generation he appeared as the champion of religious liberty, and they followed him with unqualified enthusiasm. Parker soon became alarmed. His fears of years before that only a step lay between the refusal of the apparel and the rejection of the Church had come true. He wrote in urgency to Cecil that the "precisians" must if

necessary be restrained by the sword of justice. His opposition to the "discipline," as it was called, drew upon him the invective of the less pious "novelists," and he was forced to inform the Queen that his very office was at stake unless she lent him aid to suppress the "unruliness." Even Grindal heard of Cartwright's boldness with alarm and urged "some speedy course." But the matter passed more or less from Parker's hands with the advent of John Whitgift, Master of Trinity College. In addition to being present on the scene, Whitgift was not unworthy in either learning or conviction to oppose Cartwright. He had not himself come unscathed through the nonconformist crisis, and he was known to have sided with those who claimed freedom in things indifferent, but in Cartwright's theories he scented the complete destruction of the Church. The three orders of the ministry were contrary to Scripture, and therefore should not be maintained. All ministers should be equal and everyone chief in his own cure. They should be chosen by the people as in the time of the apostles. None should be a minister unless he have a cure. The ordinal was extraordinary and should be altered. If these theories gained ground, Whitgift saw as clearly as Parker that Anglicanism must give place to Presbyterianism or Congregationalism. Before long he succeeded May as vice-chancellor, and proceeded with Parker's approval to examine Cartwright. He failed, however, to move him from his opinions, and as he was not the man to yield, he was deprived of his chair and forbidden to preach. Finally a set of new statutes were drawn up and corrected by Parker, which gave the heads of the colleges a wider power of discipline and correction.

They caused much anxiety among the younger men, and Parker, fearing the growth of the movement, urged Cecil, the chancellor, to be firm and to make no concessions. From this point onwards Puritanism gathered force as the organized foe of the Church's system. The struggle was transferred from the infinitely less important details of worship to an attack on vital principles. The traditional ministry, both as a form of government and as necessary to the spiritual life of the Church, was to disappear before a new ministry derived from below in the will of the local congregation.

Many causes combined to lend the new theory popularity. As a system it appealed to the individualism of the age, which was impatient of corporate life and discipline. At the same time the bishops as a whole did not carry with them the love and affection of the people. Grave scandals of one sort or another disfigured their government, and the diocesan courts and officials were as corrupt as ever before. Simony abounded in spite of Parker's bold protests and unwearying efforts to suppress it. All his attempts to regulate his own courts were of little avail in face of the widespread corruption. He made new rules governing the Court of Faculties which was one of the chief causes of Puritan complaint. He refused to grant a living to a child of fourteen, even though the application was supported by the powerful Leicester, from whom he now became estranged. He granted few licences from the accepted rules of the Church, and he did his utmost to raise the tone and ideals of the parochial clergy. But these attempts at reform were not only unavailing, but largely distasteful. The same old corruption dogged him at

**Reasons
for its
popularity.**

every step and frustrated his best efforts. The authorities were not slow to call for the repression of a movement which, apart from the fact that it meant the destruction of the Church, made for a higher standard and desired the suppression of widespread scandals. Perhaps there has never been a period when the means for enforcing discipline were so many and when the bishops visited their dioceses with greater regularity or more searching enquiries. And perhaps never was discipline so bound up with the chicanery of diocesan officials and bribery and corruption. Quite apart from other considerations, the Puritans had reasons for their attack on the common decay in honesty and fair dealing, and with all the enthusiasm of youth they argued that a system which lent itself to such evils and too frequently connived at scandal had little claim to be called divine.

Parker
and the
movement.

It was clear that Puritanism would make an effort at the earliest opportunity to assert itself. It now rested on a more solid foundation than the dislike of ceremonial, and aimed at a more definite goal than individual liberty in "things indifferent." Besides, it boasted well-qualified leaders who lent courage and boldness to the ranks. It did not require much foresight to see that in some way or other an attempt would be made to attack the Church and Prayer Book. At the same time Parker's thoughts were turned more seriously to the abuses which it denounced, and once more he began to prepare effective remedies, gathering round him the bishops, who now made common cause against a common foe. There was no other course open, in so far as the main attack lay, but uncompromising resistance. Religious toleration

was unknown, and the very existence of the Church was threatened. Parker looked out on a real crisis. From his standpoint there were revolutionary forces abroad. In making his defence, he pleaded that as Governor of the Church and set there by God he must do his duty to the "sore-assaulted" Church, against those "who under the colour of reformation seek the ruin and subversion both of learning and religion." The burden which these "fantastical spirits" would place on men's backs would be heavy indeed, for in their desire for "a popular state" they seek "the spoliation of the patrimony of Christ." He was determined "to see sound doctrine maintained, gain-sayers of the truth repressed, good order set down and observed, that the spouse of Christ, so dearly redeemed, may by our ministry be beautified."

[AUTHORITIES.—Strype, Dixon, Frere as before. The Cathedral Articles are in Cardwell, *l.c.* The replies for Norwich are in Strype, *Parker*, App., No. liv. The Norwich Diocesan Articles are in British Museum (T. 1015 (1)). For Parker's dispute with Bacon see his *Correspondence*, No. ccxxxix. For his visitation of Canterbury see Cardwell, *l.c.* The *Parker Register*, i., f. 279 and l ff., and *Parker MSS.*, cxx, 3, 9. For the order about vestments see Legg and Hope, *l.c.*, p. 235. For the dispute over wafer bread see *Correspondence*, Nos. cclxxviii-vi, cccliii. For the attack on his life see *ibid.*, No. cclxxxii. For his wife's death see his journal, *l.c.*, and *Correspondence*, Nos. cclxxx-ii. For the vacant bishoprics see *ibid.*, No. cclxxi. For Cambridge see Mullinger, *l.c.* Strype, *Whitegift*. Cartwright in *Dic. Nat. Biog.*, and compare S. P. Dom. Eliz., lxxiv, 29, and Parker, *Correspondence*, Nos. cclxxxii-iv, ccxxxi, and *Petyt MSS.*, 538, 47, 39, 40. For an account of the Corruptions, etc., see S. L. Ware, *The Elizabethan Parish in its Ecclesiastical and financial aspects* (John Hopkins, Baltimore, 1908.)]

CHAPTER XVII

PARLIAMENT AND CONVOCATION OF 1571

THE position of the various religious parties had by this time undergone a considerable change. The papal party had left the Church under the pressure of the new Pope's policy, and this schism tended to strengthen the hands of the extreme reformers by the activity and earnestness of its propaganda. It was easier to attack from without than within, but the inner foe was by far the more subtle. Puritanism boldly clamoured for the severe repression of Recusancy and behind that clamour it worked in secret to assert its own peculiar tenets and to subvert the religious settlement. In addition the royal policy continued as capricious as ever, and Parker protested in vain against the ludicrous position in which he was now more frequently placed.

The
Puritan
Parliament.

Such was the religious position when the Queen was compelled for financial reasons to summon a Parliament in April, 1571. Much as she feared the stormy debates over the succession and the Church, her want of money could endure no longer delay. Care, however, was taken in the characteristic Tudor manner to govern the elections. The Council ordered Parker and Lord Cobham to confer with the sheriff and principal persons in counties and boroughs in order that suitable persons might be chosen. On the eve of Parliament two things were clear: the necessity of legislation against the Recusants, and the necessity

of preventing action by the Puritans against the Church. When the session opened on April 2nd the ecclesiastical note was at once sounded, and perhaps no Parliament has concerned itself more with religious questions. We have already seen what action was taken against Recusancy and the severity of the laws passed against it. It is now necessary to turn to the attempts made by what proved to be a strongly Puritan House of Commons to undermine the Church. On April 14th Strickland, who led the extreme party, introduced a bill for the reformation of the Prayer Book. In a partizan speech he brought forward many of the old complaints against ceremonies, but added much on the common abuses in dispensations and pluralities. He also brought forward the charge, to which reference will be made later, that many papists held livings in the Church. Warned by previous experience, the Lord Treasurer advised caution and spoke of the unwisdom of proceeding without the Queen's permission. Snagg replied in favour of immediate reform. The House, however, agreed to approach the Queen. There the matter rested. During the Easter recess Strickland was summoned before the Privy Council and forbidden the House. When the recess was over, the angry Commons saw in the Council's action an unwarranted interference with their liberties. Only tact on the part of the officials prevented an open rupture with the Queen. Various other measures were introduced by the Puritan party, which came to nothing owing to the firm stand taken by Elizabeth against what she considered an interference with the royal prerogative, but several meetings took place between some committees of the Lower House, and Parker "for

considering and reformation of religion." An account of one of these meetings illustrates the nature of the proposals. The Puritans presented Parker with the Articles of Religion, corrected from their point of view, and significantly omitting the article on the Ordinal. A hot argument took place between Parker and a certain Wentworth, who afterwards figured prominently at the contest and drew upon himself the displeasure of both Queen and Council. He refused to leave the discussion of the question to the bishops, and hotly answered, "No, by the faith I bear to God, we will pass nothing before we understand what it is, for that were but to make you popes. Make you popes who list for we will make you none." An attempt was now made to confirm the Articles, but the Queen disapproved, with the message that "She liked them very well and was minded to publish them and have them executed by the bishops by direction of her Highness' legal authority of supremacy of the Church of England, and not to have the same dealt in by Parliament." They were placed, however, on a legal basis by the long *Act for the Ministers of the Church to be of Sound Religion*. All Marian priests, all those taking up new benefices, and all about to be ordained were required to subscribe. The penalty for maintaining any doctrine contrary to them was made deprivation. This Act also attempted to regulate some abuses. No person under twenty-three and not a deacon was to be admitted to any benefice, and no one was to be made priest under twenty-four.

Convoca-
tion.
"The
Articles
of
Religion."

At the same time Convocation was engaged in important deliberations. Whitgift preached the opening sermon on April 3rd, in which he dealt with the institution and authority of synods, the enemies of

the Church—Papist and Puritan—the use of vestments and ornaments, and of the business to be transacted. Parker ordered that those who had not subscribed the Articles in the last Convocation should do so now under the penalty of exclusion. This subscription was demanded on purely episcopal authority, as the Act already referred to had not as yet passed. On April 20th the case of Cheyney, Bishop of Gloucester, was gone into. He had refused to sign the Articles in 1563, and now absented himself without Parker's permission and without providing a proxy. It was decided unanimously that he should be excommunicated, and this was done in due form. Finally he pleaded ill-health and was absolved. On May 4th, Convocation met at Lambeth, as Parker was unable owing to ill-health to reach St. Paul's or Westminster. At the conclusion of the customary prayers, Parker had some private consultation with the other bishops, and it was agreed that when the Book of Articles should have been fully considered, it was to be printed under Jewel's direction, each bishop providing a sufficient number of copies for his diocese, and ordering it to be read in the parish churches twice a year. This resolution was arrived at the day after the Commons had passed the Act for subscription: at the next session again held at Lambeth, the bishops were engaged in private consultation over the Articles, which were finally published in Latin and English. Article XXIX and the clause about the rights of national churches, about which there was some doubt in the 1563 editions, were now placed on a secure footing. Thus, by separate action Church and State accepted the familiar XXXIX Articles of Religion. Parker had not flinched before

the attack made by Wentworth, and the Articles appeared changed in no vital particulars. It is also worthy of note that no reference was made in Convocation to the Act of Parliament, and that, although it required the code of 1563, it has been customary to demand subscription to the code now sanctioned by Convocation. Great obscurity lies round the whole process, and the problem still remains largely unsolved, but it is reasonable to conjecture that Parker was in communication with the Queen, and that matters proceeded in Convocation with her approval. Elizabeth was not slow to support the deliberations of the Church against unsought parliamentary legislation however praiseworthy.

The Canons
of 1571.

Less still is known of the history of the *Book of Certain Canons concerning some part of the Discipline of the Church of England* which was formulated by this Convocation and duly enforced. We have already seen how the proposals to revive, with full authority, the *Reformatio Legum* failed. That work was intended to give the English Church a revised body of discipline, as the pre-Reformation Canon Law stood on a very ambiguous footing. But now with the advent of only "some part of the discipline" that law remained in the position assigned to it by the Henrician statute. It is well to examine these new Canons in detail as they gathered up many of Parker's abortive proposals for the Convocation of 1563, and set the example for future legislation. The code was signed by all bishops of the Southern province and by the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of Chester and Durham, acting it may be for the Northern province. Everywhere Parker's hand is evident. No formal sanction was ever given by the

Queen to these Canons, but it is tolerably certain that she revised and corrected them. Parker, indeed, urged her to give full statutory force to the "Book of Discipline," as he called them, but Elizabeth refused whatever her motive, and the bishops proceeded to enforce them apart from the Crown. Grindal, as usual, was timid and feared *præmunire*, but in the visitation articles and injunctions which he issued for his province in 1571 he quotes frequently from these Canons, though refraining from mentioning them by name. The Puritans were not slow to disapprove the actions of the bishops apart from the Crown, but at any rate they had little cause for complaint as Parker did not intend that "everything should be so precisely kept, but for the most part and as occasion shall require." It is interesting to note that the Latin edition seems to have been the one enforced. The English edition fell almost flat from the press, but Guest, however, ordered all his clergy to possess "a copy of the Book of Discipline in English" during his visitation in 1571.

The code consists of ten divisions. The first deals with bishops. They are required to be diligent and faithful teachers of the Gospel and dutiful upholders of the established religion. Licenced preachers must hand in their licences and receive new ones if approved. The episcopal household should afford an example of true Christian life, the servants going modestly in every part of their garments. Holy orders must not be given without careful enquiries, and only to those of lawful age, nor to any brought up in husbandry or manual labour. Readers were henceforth abolished. Each archbishop and bishop must lay in the hall or great chamber of their house Foxe's *Martyrs* and the

Analysis of
the Canons.

Bishops' Bible for the edification of servants and strangers. The latter was one of the great projects of Parker's life which he carried to a successful issue in 1568. As early as November, 1566, he had assigned portions of the Bible to a group of selected advisers, among whom were eleven bishops, and during the Puritan crises his anxious moments were relieved by reports from his assistants and by his own work. The English translation in the Great Bible was followed, except where it manifestly departed from the original. No bitter notes were made on any text, and no controversial matter was permitted. Chapters and passages not for the edification of the people were marked with some stroke or note "so that the reader might eschew them in his public reading." Lightness and obscurity in translations were avoided. Parker desired the Queen to order this edition to be read in churches, but this does not seem to have been done. Although it ran through several editions it never supplanted the *Genevan Bible*. By far the most valuable part was the two magnificent prefaces, written by Parker, for the Old and New Testaments, which rise to a high level of stately and learned piety. He set forth the necessity for the devotional use of the Scriptures in a manner which must have appeared novel to an age singularly lacking in personal religion, emphasizing our Lord's teaching—"this celestial Doctor's" command to search the Scriptures. But this search must not be formal: "occupy thyself therein in the whole journey of this thy worldly pilgrimage to understand thy way how to walk rightly before thy God all the days of thy life . . . only search with an humble spirit, ask in continual prayer, knock with perpetual perseverance,

and cry to that good Spirit of Christ, the Comforter." What thanks we owe for this "incomparable treasure of the Church renewed from age to age" and for "the grounds of our salvation" preserved in the Gospel story. He defends the liberty of reading the Scriptures gained for all by the Reformation and witnessed to by the early and Saxon Church. "This Christian Catholic Church of England" will repose "in this authority," and while others claim some new-found authority, "we will proceed in the Reformation begun and doubt no more by the help of Christ His Grace of the true unity to Christ's Catholic Church, and of the uprightness of our faith in this province." Both prefaces are worthy of Parker's character in learning, in theology and piety. He commended with stately moderation the Anglican position. The second section dealt with the deans of cathedral churches. They must provide the same books in their cathedrals and families. They must be diligent preachers. In choir they must, with the rest of the cathedral body, lay aside the grey almuce or fur tippet. This was a further concession to the Puritans which proved of little value. Within a short time there was a fresh outcry against surplices and copes. They must reside four months in each year and keep hospitality, enforcing the cathedral statutes and the ecclesiastical laws as well as the injunctions made by the bishops in their visitations. The third section dealt with the archdeacons. They must visit within their jurisdictions once a year in their own persons, and specially examine the clergy of their progress in Holy Scripture, appointing them portions to learn by heart and reporting to the bishop the state of learning at the end of each visitation. They must preserve with

care accurate accounts of their administration and send them to the bishop's registrar. The fourth section dealt with the diocesan officials. They were forbidden to excommunicate for any offence, and prohibited from altering any penance or pronouncing any absolution, flagrant abuses of the age. They were to see that the clergy had books fit for their degree and profession, and that they observed the customs and orders of the Prayer Book, and wore the sober outdoor dress ordered by "the book of Advertisements," avoiding taverns and prohibited games. They must see that they subscribed the Articles of Religion and presented to the Chancellor yearly after Easter the names of those over fourteen years of age who did not come to the Holy Communion and refused to be examined in the Catechism and Creed. They must also forbid them to allow non-communicants to stand sponsors at Baptism. The dignity and intelligibility of the services must be maintained, and the congregation must behave with reverence and modesty, being urged to come often to the Holy Communion after due and fitting preparation. The fifth section dealt with the churchwardens. They must render yearly a full account of their dealings, see to the repair of the churches, and provide that they were kept "clean and holy," with the *Bishops' Bible*, the Homilies, especially that against rebellion, "untorn or foul." They must duly furnish the Church, decking the walls "with chosen sentences of Holy Scripture." They must enforce Sunday observance and present all moral offenders to the archdeacon. They must diligently enforce the law for Church attendance and duly collect the fines from those who fail. They must provide a book in

which any preacher other than their own clergy must inscribe his name and the name of the bishop who licenced him. The sixth section dealt with preachers. All unlicenced preaching was forbidden and preachers must "chiefly take heed that they teach nothing in their preaching which they would have the people religiously observe and believe but that which is agreeable to the Old Testament and the New, and that which the Catholic Fathers and ancient bishops have gathered out of that doctrine," avoiding "old wives' opinions, heresies and popish errors." The seventh section dealt with residence, which was Christianly recommended. The eighth dealt with pluralities, and limited the number of benefices allowable to two, and these within twenty-six miles of one another. The ninth section dealt with schoolmasters, reinforced Lilly's Grammar, and ordered the use of Nowell's Catechism, which was drawn up for the Convocation of 1563, and now published by Parker's desire with a dedication to the bishops. The final section dealt with patrons, and the code closed with a form of excommunication and the signatures of the bishops. It is also interesting to note the provision made for education. Until the suppression of the chantries under Edward VI, the Church provided elementary education free in most of the parishes of England by means of the chantry-priests. An effort was now made to continue this in some measure under the parochial clergy. Those who were unlicenced to preach were ordered to teach the children reading and writing, and if they found any of them disposed to earning, they were to inform their parents so that they might be further instructed and induced to take Holy Orders; the duller—not to waste their time—

must be set to some science or husbandry. Religious instruction was provided for in schools, where they existed, in a characteristically Elizabethan fashion, the schoolmaster sending or bringing his children to Church and on their return to school, examining them on the sermon which they heard. He was also to keep a careful look out for promising scholars and report them to the bishop.

Application
to diocesan
life.

This body of Canons takes its place with the Royal Injunctions in episcopal visitations. Henceforth the bishops' enquiries and injunctions are full of orders derived from this source. They seem to have bravely rallied round Parker in his effort to raise the standard of life and discipline. It represents his matured judgment and embodies many of his original proposals. With the *Bishops' Bible* and the Articles of Religion it may be said to represent the lines of discipline and theology along which he desired the Church to move. But it must be confessed little success attended his efforts to control the extremes. Powerful friends at Court were secretly supporting his enemies and discounting his attempts at reform. The old evils also remained as flagrant as before. On the other hand the Puritans became more aggressive and refused the Prayer Book without further reformation, so much so that Parker issued orders to the churchwardens in the Queen's name commanding them to suffer no person or minister to administer any sacrament or say any prayers in any other order, manner, or sort than that set forth in the Book of Common Prayer, and that they must diligently suppress unlicensed preaching. Militant Puritanism was making itself felt and the fanatical leaders were dragging into a common persecution, as had happened

in the vestiarian controversy, the less aggressive members of their party.

There are other pictures than those of tumult and debate. Many pious souls sought relief from the shock of battle and the violence of party controversy in ideals and hopes. Puritans though they were, they were through no fault of their own mixed up with the extremist to whom denunciation and invective were more agreeable than the humbler and quieter path of Christian duty. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that it was among these that the flame of Christian piety burned steadiest and brightest. Without abahdoning the Church's system they strove to apply it with greater earnestness to produce practical results, or to supplement it with additional services and novel local regulations. It has been their misfortune to be obscured in history by the "noise" of the Puritan leaders, as it has been equally their misfortune that their virtues have been claimed for their extreme wing. On the other hand their punctiliousness and their unbalanced seriousness brought them into contempt, discounted their influence, and weakened their work. To Parker they appealed by their piety; but he saw only too clearly that, in an age impatient of restraint, there were dangerous elements in their devotional exercises which if unchecked would oust the established order and grow less and less amenable to authority. He had to sacrifice the part to save the whole.

The better
Puritan-
ism.

[AUTHORITIES.—Strype, *Frere* as above. For the Parliament see D'Ewes, *l.c.*, Parker, *Correspondence*, No. cclxxxvii, *Frere*, *The Church in Relation to the State*, and *Statutes at Large*.

For the Convocation see Cardwell, *Synodalia* ii, 528. Hardwick, *l.c.*, 125. Strype, *Parker* ii, chap. v. For the Canons, see Bp. Collins, *The Canons of 1571 in English and Latin* (Ch. Hist. Soc., No. xl), Parker, *Correspondence*, Nos. cclxxxviii ccxcv. Grindal's articles, etc., are in the *Second Ritual Report*, App. E. Guest's Order is in the *Guest Register*, f. 118. For the *Bishop's Bible* see *Correspondence*, Nos. ccxxiii, cclvii. The prefaces are in Strype, *Parker* iii, App. lxxxiii-iv. The order to the Churchwardens is in *ibid.* No. lxii.]

CHAPTER XVIII

CONCLUDING YEARS

ON all sides difficulties were gathering in greater numbers round Parker's life, and his concluding years present few happy or careless days. It was evident that the last Parliament was only a stage in the Puritan attack, and that they would return to the contest with redoubled energy at the earliest opportunity, especially as subscription to the Articles was now actively enforced.

Parker was actively engaged enforcing conformity during the summer of 1571, being assisted by the Bishops of Winchester and Ely, and later by London and Sarum. The battle raged round the old questions, but now supplemented by the Articles of Religion. Several of the prominent Puritans were cited to Lambeth, but in many cases their history is obscure. However, some light can be thrown on the proceedings by examining some of the less intricate prosecutions. In 1558 Charles Goodman had written a book against the government of women. Parker now gathered some articles out of this book and requested him to sign a recantation. At first he refused. Finally, in April, 1571, he signed an elaborate confession of his error and was pardoned. Much more interesting is the case of Robert Browne, who now makes his first appearance in history. Browne was domestic chaplain to the Duchess of Suffolk, and refused to appear at Lambeth, urging as an excuse that her Grace would not suffer him to come, and that his employment was

Dealings
with
Puritans.

in a privileged place. Parker, however, was in no way disturbed by his refusal. He wrote to the Duchess of Suffolk demanding Browne's appearance, and explaining in full the extent of the powers entrusted to the Commission. It is not clear whether Browne appeared at this time, but in later years he was the source of much trouble, and the founder of the sect called the Brownists. In July the case of Robert Johnson was gone into, who among other things was chaplain to the Lord Keeper. He refused to subscribe and was suspended. A few weeks later, however, he sent up his subscription with some reservations about the Prayer Book, and was restored. Within two years, however, he appears to have claimed the attention of his diocesan, the Bishop of Lincoln, but once again he was forgiven. Not many weeks after he committed such a pronounced breach of order in administering the Communion with unconsecrated wine that he was summoned before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. In his defence, he urged that the Prayer Book did not provide for a re-consecration. He was, however, condemned to a year's imprisonment and died in confinement. It is unnecessary to enter into further details, but the general impression left from the records extant is that there was much mercy extended to the accused, and that every effort within reason was made to bring them to conform. These efforts, however, were not seen in any favourable light, and the Puritans boldly denounced the bishops and maintained that, while they were deprived, the vast majority of the clergy who continued to hold benefices were merely opportunists, who secretly favoured the old religion. This charge, however, is unsupported by any evidence.

The wide subscription to the Articles is too strong a witness. On the other hand, the historians of Puritanism have painted pathetic pictures of the deprivation of a large number of Puritans, and written of the Church as destitute of faithful ministers after the proceedings of 1571. This charge is equally unsupported by history. It is most likely that the rank and file of those who favoured the extreme party were left alone. As usual, the main attack was directed against Parker and the Puritan press became more virulent than ever. Parker complained to Burghley that they slandered him "with infamous books and libels lying they care not how deep." The press, too, was secret and could not be discovered. Perhaps the best example can be drawn from Anthony Gilby's *A View of Anti-Christ, his laws and ceremonies in our English Church unreformed. A clear glass in which may be seen the dangers and desperate diseases of our English Church*, etc. In the second division he makes a bitter attack on Parker: "The Pope of Rome writeth himself *father of fathers* and *head of the Church*. The Pope of Lambeth writeth *Reverend Father* Matthew, of Canterbury, by the sufferance of God Metropolitan and Primate of all England, as much as to say chief head of the Church of England. The Pope of Rome doth sell sin for money, as whoredom or such like. The Pope of Lambeth doth the same. And that can his officials and summoners tell if they list. The Pope of Rome forbiddeth marriage and meats, which S. Paul calleth the *doctrine of devils*. The Pope of Lambeth doth the same. A false prophet and a stranger which teacheth the doctrine of devils. The Pope of Rome doth command superstitious holy days

to be kept contrary to the commandment of God. The Pope of Lambeth doth the same, and compelleth men to break the commandment of God to observe popish traditions." It was not without reason that Parker complained. Heavier still to bear was the secret support lent to his traducers by influential personages at Court. "The more they shame our religion, the more they be applauded too, the more they be comforted . . . they highly justified and we judged to be extreme persecutors." "The comfort that these Puritans have and their continuance is marvellous." So he wrote in bitterness. He foresaw that there would be a renewal of hostilities when Parliament met, and that on all sides he was losing ground, the Queen herself refusing active support. The Puritans looked forward more confident than ever. Their courage had been further increased by the recent dealings, and once again they prepared a severe assault on the Prayer Book.

The Par-
liament of
1572.
8th May to
30th June.

Parliament opened on May 8th, and within a few days a bill was brought forward by which the novel services and ceremonial of Puritanism were to be legalized. Broadly speaking, its provisions meant the repeal of the Act of Uniformity, and left the conduct of public worship to the caprice of the local ministers. A lengthy debate ensued on the third reading. It was finally decided to refer the bill to a committee of eleven in order that it might be revised. On May 21st the bill was presented once again, and was less extreme in its provisions. The next day, however, Elizabeth closed the question by sending a message through the Speaker that it was her "pleasure" that from henceforth no more bills concerning religion shall be preferred or received into this

House unless the same shall be first considered and liked by the clergy." Undeterred, the Puritans determined to issue a public manifesto. It was impossible to gain anything in Parliament as long as the Queen curtailed the debates, and therefore a public declaration of the aims and purposes of Puritanism would be helpful, especially as none was already in existence. At a private meeting of the leaders in London the matter was carefully discussed, and it was decided to issue an *Admonition* to the Parliament, which was in fact intended as a gathering call to the "scattered flock of Christ" throughout the Kingdom.

Shortly before June 30th, when Parliament adjourned, having made no further attacks on the Church, there appeared the famous Puritan pamphlet, *An Admonition to the Parliament*. Immediately it gained a widespread popularity. With no author's name and no press, it succeeded in raising the hopes of the Puritans higher than ever before. Every effort to suppress it failed. The first edition was almost at once sold out, and Parker complained that three editions had been exhausted by the middle of August, and that no printer or press could be discovered. It must be confessed that there was much to praise in the method of attack, and that the arguments against the ministry, the ministration of the Sacraments and the ecclesiastical discipline which occupy the first part were handled with skill and effect. The second part, however, is full of abuse. No language is too strong with which to attack the Prayer Book. It is "culled and picked out of that popish dunghill, the Mass book, full of all abominations." In the marriage service the man is made to "make an idol of his wife."

The Admonition to the Parliament.

Confirmation, "as they use it," is both "popish and peevish ; we speak not of other toys used in it." There is much more in this strain. But incidentally sidelights are thrown on various customs which remained so largely in use as to draw the attention of the Puritans. The Gospel was still sung and the Holy Name duly honoured. Women continued to wear veils in coming to be churched. Rogationtide was kept with processions and banners and bells and making of crosses.

Arrest
of the
authors.

On July 7th two London clergy, Thomas Wilcox and John Field, were arrested and committed to Newgate on suspicion of being the authors. Two months later they admitted to Parker's chaplain that they wrote it "in Parliament time," which they claimed should be a time of freedom for speaking and writing. In prison they employed themselves in writing their defence, and made appeals, as their party had ever done, to those who supported them at Court. In October, however, they were formally condemned to a year's imprisonment. But powerful influence was brought to bear on their case, and before the end of six months they were quartered with the Archdeacon of London, and by the end of the following December they were at liberty, and once again began an active life for their cause.

Whitgift's
reply.

Meanwhile the greatest excitement prevailed. In addition to the original *Admonition*, and a goodly number of similar pamphlets, Thomas Cartwright appeared again on the scene, and explained how the reforms which Field and Wilcox had demanded could best be brought about, in his *Second Admonition to the Parliament*. The air was thick with debate. From Parker down to the man in the street the pamphlets

were received with apprehension or joy, and discussed with eagerness and vehemence. It was clear that something must be done to restore public confidence in the Church. Already Whitgift had begun the official reply to the first attack, and was not unwilling to add some pages against his old opponent. It was a time of great anxiety to Parker, for as we have seen, the Puritans were in higher spirits than ever over the treatment of Recusancy, and he welcomed with no little enthusiasm Whitgift's *Answer to the Admonition*, which appeared in February, 1573. But the contest was far from over. Cartwright returned to the attack with his old pertinacity and published a *Reply to the Answer* in the following May. The work at once became popular. Burghley urged Parker himself to write a reply, but he excused himself for several reasons. He was the principal person attacked and the chief stumbling-block. Cartwright was too well applauded for attacking him. He condemned the claim that Parker represented the ancient order, and denied the authority of any archbishop. Indeed, Parker was so weary of the whole controversy that he was prepared to assume the office of parish-clerk and ready to resign his office to anyone who could fill it better. No sooner had Parker refused than the Queen attempted to stem the rising tide of Puritan popularity. In June, 1573, she issued a proclamation against the pamphlets and ordered that every printer and bookseller having any of them in their possession should deliver the same to the diocesan or to one of the Privy Council within twenty days after the proclamation, and to retain none of them without a bishop's licence. The rites and ceremonies used on the authority of private opinion

were severely condemned. Nothing, however, happened. In the meantime Parker urged Whitgift to continue the contest, and, not unwilling, he finally produced a *Defence of the Answer*, which included the whole controversy. But Cartwright, though forced to flee the country in December, 1573, returned to the contest with his *Second Reply*. This, however, had little influence compared with a book entitled the *Book of Discipline*, which appeared in English with the approval of Cartwright, now recognized as the champion of the Puritan party. On the other hand, the original pamphlets did more than anything previously written or debated to strengthen Puritanism. Whitgift's voluminous replies, attempts to control and discover the secret presses, proclamations and the like, singularly failed to undo the work of Wilcox, Field and Cartwright.

Convoca-
tion.

Reform, however, was recognized on all sides as necessary, and Burghley drew up elaborate proposals for the consideration of Convocation. Reverence and devotion were as necessary as uniformity, therefore more suitable clergy must be provided, and pluralities must be resumed by general order. The churches must be repaired and kept more cleanly and reverently. The Act of Uniformity must be enforced with "the imperfections therein amended," in order that the service of God should not be left to private opinion. Sunday observance must be enforced. The clergy must be restrained from unreasonable alienations and leases. The bishops and clergy must be reprimanded for waste, neglect of teaching, the abuse of pluralities and non-residence by unnecessary dispensations. Unfortunately nothing was done in Convocation. There survives, however, a long Latin

speech delivered by Parker at the opening, which was intended to raise the debates to a high level of responsibility, not only to the established order, but also to Holy Scripture and Christian antiquity. No further record remains, and certainly no business was transacted. Parker continued his dreary work on the Ecclesiastical Commission, and as the revolt spread far and wide the prosecutions increased. At the same time the Puritans became more confident in public, and Parker was now more distressed than ever over the encouragement lent them in secret from the Court and several of the Privy Council.

On the other hand, the Queen was highly indignant at the state of affairs, and to Parker's amusement the Council sent a letter on November 7th, 1573, to the bishops ordering them to proceed at once to minute visitations of their dioceses, and blaming them in no unmeasured terms for permitting such anarchy as existed in public worship. In many cases the rebuke was uncalled for. Grindal, Horne, Guest, Sandys, and Freke had but a few months before completed elaborate visitations, and in the previous autumn Parker had visited his church and diocese. For the latter he used previous orders, but for the cathedral he drew up and enforced a special set of Latin Injunctions, which dealt more with technicalities and the statutes than with the Puritan crises. In Norwich, and London, however, action was at once taken, as they were by far the most difficult dioceses. In London the clergy were again called on to subscribe. The result, however, is obscure, but Parker noted the old opposition to the fonts and brazen eagles and ornaments in the chancel. He also urged Parkhurst to make a visitation of his diocese, and this was

The
Queen's
displeasure.

supplemented by a special order from the Queen and Council. Complete details are not forthcoming, but it appears that when pressure was brought to bear most of the law-breakers conformed. It is interesting, however, to note that in the archdeaconry of Suffolk many churches had no surplices. On the other hand, Parkhurst was weak and inconsistent, and while protesting to Parker the loyalty of his clergy in general, he permitted those who were deprived to preach and catechize or to exercise prophesying in public. A rebuke from official quarters forced him for the moment to suppress the abuse, but he explained that the increasing number of Puritans justified his action, and forced his hand.

Prophesying.

Almost immediately Parker was drawn into a dispute over prophesyings. In earlier years these meetings for mutual conference over Scripture had been largely connived at and Parkhurst continued to encourage them. But the Queen was in no mood for even the smallest concession and she ordered Parker to inform the Bishop of Norwich, as well as the other bishops, that the "vain exercises" must be suppressed. On 25th March, 1575, he sent a special message to Parkhurst, delivering the Queen's order. Parkhurst replied on the 2nd April with a request that the "vain" things might be pointed out, and these he promised should be discontinued, but as for the exercises he would not interfere. The question became complicated when the Bishop of London and several of the Council wrote on May 6th to Parkhurst, urging him to continue the exercises so long as the truth is godly and reverently uttered, and seditious and heresies were avoided. On May 17th, Parker, in ignorance of this letter, wrote peremptorily to

Parkhurst, and demanded a straight line of action and prompt obedience to the royal order. In dismay Parkhurst wrote on May 28th to the Bishop of London and asked how it was possible for him to obey both commands. Sandys does not appear to have replied, and Parkhurst turned for advice and information to Freke, Bishop of Rochester, who replied on the 13th June that no royal command had been issued in Rochester or London, and that prophesyings continued apart from controversy "to the comfort of God's Church." Meanwhile, however, Parkhurst had written his submission to Parker on June 6th, informing him that orders had been given for the suppression of the exercises throughout the diocese.

One of Parker's last administrative acts on a large scale was a visitation of Winchester diocese at Horne's request. He issued fifty-six long and searching enquiries which throw an interesting light on ecclesiastical affairs there. Had any intruded themselves or forced themselves into the ministry without valid ordination? Have any lay persons read divine service without the bishop's licence, or any such ministered any sacrament? Have any been ordained out of the diocese where they were born or had long abode without letters dismissory? Is the outdoor apparel uniformly worn, and do the clergy exercise any trade? Have any once ordained priests ceased to exercise their office, refused communion, or boasted themselves like laymen? Are there any celebrations of Mass? Do any preach unlicensed, or refuse to show their licence when asked to do so? Do the clergy regularly exhort their congregations to obey the established laws, to frequent

Visitation
of Win-
chester.

divine service, to receive Communion, and to hear the word of God? Are they continually resident, and if not do they provide competent substitutes? Do they give regular instruction to the children? Do they read the Articles of Religion, and administer the sacraments according to the received customs? Do they wear a surplice and say common prayer in the chancel? Do they use the font for baptism, wafer bread for the Communion, and a decent communion cup in place of bowls or old Massing chalices? Do they observe according to the Royal Injunctions the perambulations at Rogationtide without any superstitious ceremonies? Do they maintain students at the University when non-resident? Are any benefices held by those beyond the seas? Are the parish clerks appointed with the consent of the vicar or parson, and do they fulfil their traditional duties? Are the schoolmasters of sincere religion, teaching the approved books and avoiding controversial matters? Do the people come to church regularly and receive communion thrice a year? Have all shrines and monuments of idolatry been destroyed? Are all things necessary for public worship provided and in due repair? Has an inventory been made from time to time of the goods belonging to the Church? Have there been any secret conventicles for religious purposes? Have the ecclesiastical officials exercised their office in an upright and honourable manner?

Gathering troubles.

The visitation was a great success for the moment, but within a short time the Isle of Wight became a stronghold of disobedience. It is interesting to note that for some reason not forthcoming the Queen was highly displeased at Parker's action, and on his death-bed he wrote protesting against her anger, as much

good had been done. Indeed the last few months of his life were shadowed by many sorrows. The painful disease from which he suffered caused him increasing pain. Interminable lawsuits, virulent controversies, abusive literature, the deceptions of many of the Privy Council, the growth of strange and dangerous sects all combined to add to his sufferings. He was conscious that in addition to trouble without there was much betrayal and concessions within which weakened his authority already growing feeble, and made it more difficult for him to govern the Church. He felt that he was no longer in the front rank of the battle, and worse than all that he was not to be allowed to lay aside his office with the full confidence of the Queen and Church, and of his early associates.

But there are brighter sides to these concluding years. It would be tedious to enter into his studies in detail, but during his whole life he managed to snatch leisure from the severity of his work for study, in which he would have preferred to spend his life. He was an enthusiastic collector of books and manuscripts, and he employed many persons to search for records and documents. But especially he was a student of Anglo-Saxon, and to him is due the pioneer work of arousing an interest in it. Modern scholars have reflected on the way in which some of the texts are doctored, but the greatest of them has redeemed him from wilful dishonesty and assigned his mistakes to alterations made by conjectural and arbitrary readings. The edition of the *Life of Alfred* was superintended with special care. Most of it was prepared under his careful supervision and it was printed with special type and bound in

Brighter incidents :
(i) Studies.

his own house. Mention must also be made of his great history of the Archbishops of Canterbury from S. Augustine, "my first predecessor," down. It was entitled *De Antiquitate Britannicae Ecclesiae*, and printed privately in 1573. In sending it to Burghley he explained its meaning and object: "to note at what time Augustine, my first predecessor, came into this land, what religion he brought in with him, and how it continued, how it was fortified and increased, which by most of my predecessors may appear, as I could gather of such rare and written authors that came into my hands, until the days of King Henry VIII, when the religion began to grow better and more agreeable to the Gospel." The details of his literary activity must be read elsewhere, but amid the storm and stress of his primacy he derived much consolation from his work. It is equally impossible to enter into his literary friendships with Foxe, Bale and Cecil, or to discuss his enthusiasm for typography and binding. Yet behind the joy which he derived from such pursuits and intercourse there lay his lifelong purpose: to proceed along the lines of history and to foster a love for learning and research. The library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, bears invaluable witness to his purpose and aim.

(ii) Enter-
tainment
of the
Queen.

In the late summer of 1573 he was gratified by a visit from the Queen at Canterbury. Traditions of courtly style still lingered round the primacy, and Parker emerged from the quietness and simplicity of his own home life to render stately grandeur and magnificence to the visit. He met the Queen coming to Dover on Folkestone Downs, and there he left her, returning that night to his manor. The next day he proceeded to Canterbury, and met her at the west

door of the cathedral, with the Bishops of Lincoln and Rochester and his suffragan. The grammarian made an oration to her on horseback, after which she dismounted. Ali then kneeled down and said the Psalm *Deus Misereatur* in English with certain collects. Then the choir with the dean and prebendaries stood on either side the church and conducted her up with "a square song," the Queen being under a canopy carried by four knights, to her traverse placed by the Communion board, where she heard Evensong. Afterwards she departed to her lodgings, where Parker waited upon her. In the evening he gave a splendid supper to some members of the Court. Every Sunday the Queen came to Church to hear the sermon, and once she dined in Parker's great hall. Parker was anxious that she should receive communion on the first Sunday of the month, "when others customably receive," but she does not appear to have done so. The visit was a pleasant episode in the last dreary years, and Parker saw that it was carried out with dignity and as far as possible along the old traditional lines. He prepared for it in elaborate detail.

The closing weeks of Parker's life were clouded by increasing distrust. Leicester especially was undermining his influence in secret "and purposed to undo" him. His friends were ill-treated in the law courts, and his own honesty was regularly questioned. Some of the Council still continued to support the Puritans against the Church, and Parker dreaded what would happen in the next Parliament. As the end drew near, however, he was consoled by the knowledge that the Queen saw the dangers and supported his actions. On his death-bed he defended himself to

The end :
17th May,
1575.

Burghley, and laid bare the purpose of his life by declaring that he cared nothing for surplice or cap or tippet, but for law and authority. After over fifteen years of strenuous rule he died at Lambeth on May 17th, 1575. The moment could not have been more inopportune. The forces of innovation were more powerful than ever, and as the helm fell from the strong hand, there was no one ready to grasp it and to steady the ship for years to come. On June 6th the solemn funeral took place, according to elaborate preparations drawn up by Burghley, and the body was interred in the Duke's chapel in Lambeth Church. Walter Haddon, his old friend, wrote a dignified epitaph. Parker lay undisturbed till another generation of Puritans gained the upper hand, and his tomb was desecrated by a Roundhead soldier named Scot. At the Restoration, under the direction of Archbishop Sancroft, his bones were found and restored to their final resting-place.

"O Domine vim patior, responde pro me."

Parker's primacy covered one of the stormiest periods in the history of the English Church. Two forces sought to overwhelm her—on the one hand the papacy, and on the other Puritanism. Parker's success lay in seeing that neither was catholic or apostolic, and in directing the Church over which he presided along the lines of early tradition. He saw in Anglicanism a reasonable theological position, which guarded the revelation of God, and applied the means of grace in accordance with primitive custom, but refused to be tied down by the chains of elaborate

speculation or to bind the individual conscience by demanding acceptance of minute details as necessary to salvation. On the other hand, Anglicanism in Parker's eyes stood for authority and discipline. With a strong belief in the visible church and her government, he recognized that the individual must not be allowed to become individualistic, otherwise the organization would in time be destroyed. He therefore directed his efforts to obtain a "reverent moderation" which should discipline men by the faith once for all delivered to the saints, but leave them a wide liberty within broad limitations. If his primacy was not one characterized by brilliant statesmanship, he at least laid the foundations of Anglicanism and gave the English Church a character which has developed and endeared itself to many generations of Churchmen. He grasped the broad principles of the Reformation with all the instincts of a scholar, and he saw that they were not incompatible with Christian tradition. His aim, therefore, was to exhibit in the Church of England a part of the one Body of Christ which owed nothing to papal abuse or Puritan extreme, but arose out of the chaos of mediævalism, passed through the anarchy of Protestantism, and emerged to resume her divine mission true to her origin in ministry, creed, and sacrament, and re-inspired by the new principles of reform. Of his character little more need be added. In an age of wild passion, when hatred and bitterness abounded on all sides, and when the atmosphere was thick with controversy, his mildness stands out in marked relief. All along he would have preferred to govern by gentle persuasion rather than repression, and as it was, he took the sting out of each forced act of severity.

In an age when nothing seemed sacred, and the forces of novelty were everywhere gaining ground, he stood out boldly on the side of the traditional church. In an age when dishonesty, lying, and self-seeking abounded on every side, his sincerity, singleness of purpose and sterling honesty shine out with no small gleam. In an age of sycophants and flatterers, he withstood Burghley and Leicester, and at times even the proud Queen. His great weakness lay in the fact that too often he was unconscious of his strength, and was too sensitive to failure. Moments of timidity appear here and there in his life which he could well have avoided, but perhaps no man ever entered on such a tremendous task against his own will and carried it through with such dignity and success. If his place in history is not among the great heroes of the Church it is at least among the no less honourable band of those who have done their duty, and have not deviated from the path of righteousness, or sacrificed the Church to personal ambition and party ends. Parker was a Christian first, a primate afterwards.

[AUTHORITIES.—For the dealings with the Puritans see Brook, *Lives of the Puritans*. Neal's *History of the Puritans* is inaccurate and biassed, Gilby's attack on Parker is in Strype. Parker's complaints are in his Correspondence. For the parliament see D'Ewes, *l.c.* The bill against the Prayer Book is in *S. P. Dom.*, lxxxvi, 45, 48. The Puritan tracts are in Frere and Douglas, *Puritan Manifestoes*, for Whitgift's replies see his works. (Parker Society.) For Convocation see Strype and Cardwell, *Synodalia*. For the proclamations see Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* For prophesying see Gorham, *Reformation Gleanings* and Parker, *Correspondence*. For the Visitations see the *Ritual Report*, App. E, the *Rochester and Winchester Registers*, Grindal Remains and Strype. For Parker's work as a student see Mr. Mullinger's invaluable article in *Dic. Nat. Biog.* For the Queen's visit see Parker, *Correspondence*. Generally Strype, Frere and Dr. Gee.]

APPENDIX I

WILL OF WILLIAM PARKER OF NORWICH, 1516

The Spirling Register, f. 213

[Episcopal Consistorial Court of Norwich]

“ In the name of God Amen In the yere of o^r lord god M . . . [faded] viij day of January I Willm Parker of Norwiche worsted weuer being of good mynd and hole Remembrans make my testament and last will in maner and form folowyng—

“ ffirst I bequethe my Sowill to allmighti god o^r lady sanct Marye and to all the holy company of heuyn my body to be burid in the churcheyard of Sanct Clement at ffibriggate in Norwiche Itm I bequethe to the hey altare of the same churche iij^s iiij^d Itm I bequethe to the Reparacon of the said churche vj^s viij^d Itm to Sanct Clements light xij^d Itm to o^r ladys light viij^d Itm I bequethe to all halows churche in fibriggate iij^s iiij^d Itm I bequethe to Sanct botolff churche ij^s Itm I give to Alis my wiff all my howses wher so euyr they be to geue and to sell Itm I Require all my feoffes and coeffeofes infeoffed in my said howses that they delyuer a good and a lawfull estate of my said howses to the sayd Alis my wiffe or her lawfull assignaies when so euyr they shalbe ther to lawfully Requird to thentent a bove sayd Itm I will thatt Alis my wiffe shall haue the howse in Sanct Georgs pishe accordinge to suche couenñts made betwixte

Dane John Carter and me durying the yeres of couennts of the same Itm I require all my Dettors to pay to her all suche dettis as be longing to me Itm I will that non shall make non . . . [faded] in my howse nor in my goods or Detts or any parcell ther of but the said Alis my wyffe Itm I will that Alis my wiff shall haue the Domination of all my goods moueable and unmoueable paying my Detts whom I orden and make my sole executrice of this my last testament and last will.

“Thes being wittnes Sir Roger (?) Cokson pson of Sanct Clements . . . [faded] sayd Willm Wrighte and (?) others.

“Probatum fuit etc., etc. apud Norwic: X^o die mensis February A.D. 1516 et comissa est administracio bonorum executrice in dicto testamento nominat : ”

[Portions of the pages on which this will is recorded are faded and in a very soft and tender state from damp and decay, but the whole has been made out with the exception of two or three words.]

APPENDIX II

PARKER'S CONSECRATION

It would be impossible within any reasonable space to enter at full into Parker's consecration and the question of the validity of Anglican Orders. The reader must consult such books as Denny & Lacey, *De Hierarchia Anglicana*. Haddon's edition of Bramhill's *Works* (Anglo-Catholic Library), *A Treatise on the Bull Apostolicae Curae, The Priesthood in the English Church*, Collins, *The Internal Evidence of the Letter Apostolicae Curae*; Puller, *The Bull Apostolicae Curae and the Edwardine Ordinal* (all published by Ch. Hist. Soc.); Frere, *The Marian Reaction*. Facsimiles of some documents are in Estcourt, *Anglican Ordinations*. The literature, however, is endless and the controversy wearisome. It will only be possible to outline the subject and to indicate the broad lines of the history, which is best considered under three heads: (1) Legal, (2) Historical, and (3) Technical.

I. LEGAL. On August 1st, 1559, Parker was elected Archbishop of Canterbury. On September 9th Letters Patent¹ were issued to Tunstall, Bourne, David Pole, Barlow, Kitchin and Scory, commissioning them to proceed to confirmation and consecration according to the customs and laws of the Kingdom. We have already seen that this first commission never attempted to fulfil the Royal command, for the reason that Elizabeth had not completed her robbery of the

¹ Rymer, xv, 541.

bishoprics.¹ Meanwhile Parker was consulted, and he informed Cecil that there were necessary for his consecration an archbishop and two bishops, otherwise four bishops.² Cecil noted that there was no archbishop and that the Edwardine Ordinal which Parker proposed for use was not established by law, as it remained repealed by 1 Mary 2, c. 2, and had not been revived by the Act of Uniformity. This was a legal difficulty. A new Commission³ was issued to Barlow, Kitchin, Scory, Coverdale, formerly of Exeter, Salisbury, Suffragan Bishop of Thetford, Hodgkins, Suffragan Bishop of Bedford, and John Bale, Bishop of Ossory. Any four might act "juxta formam statutorum in ea editorum et provisorum." In connexion with this new Commission it is noticeable that the Marian bishops who appeared in the first had refused the oath of Supremacy and for this reason could not act. There is no reason, however, to suppose that the failure of the first Commission was due to their refusing to act. To prevent any legal tangles a special clause was added to the new Commission under the Queen's Supremacy—

"Supplentes nihilominus, supra auctoritate nostra regis, ex mero motu ac certa scientia nostris, si quid aut in his quae juxta mandatum nostrum praedictum per vos fient, aut in vobis aut vestrum aliquo, conditione, statu, facultate vestris ad praemissa perficienda, desit aut deerit eorum, quae per statuta hujus regni, aut per leges ecclesiasticas in hac parte requiruntur aut necessaria sunt, temporis ratione et rerum necessitate id postulante."

¹ See above, p. 111.

² *S. P. Dom.*, v. 125.

³ Rymer, xv, 549.

This clause was further submitted to six lawyers and approved. On Dec. 9th Parker's election was confirmed at Bow Church and he was consecrated on December 17th, 1559. In this "supplentes" clause Elizabeth took advantage of her supreme governorship "to give a legal sanction for this particular occasion to the acts of confirmation and consecration done by "the bishops.¹ Bonner's veiled objections later on were really based on no sound foundation, as the Queen was acting within the recognized position granted to the Crown.

§. II. HISTORICAL. It is unnecessary to enter into the voluminous pamphlets which appeared during the reign from the Roman exiles. Their attitude towards the Elizabethan bishops has been admirably summed up by Dixon.² "In their style it was the same thing to say that the new bishops had not been consecrated at all or not truly as that they had been consecrated without the bulls and mission of the Pope." He also points out that they knew nothing of the Nag's Head Fable. In 1604 Holywood³ asserted that Parker was not consecrated as was claimed in Lambeth Chapel, but that a mock service was gone through in the Nag's Head tavern. While this ludicrous story is rejected by the great Roman Catholic historian Lingard, and recently by Dom Birt, it is well to point out that it rests on no foundation in history, but it still lingers among the uneducated Roman laity and is accepted by them.

The next point to be considered is the question of Barlow's orders. Everything was, so it is argued,

¹ *The Eliz. Bishops and the Civil Power* (Ch. Hist. Soc.), p. 11.

² *History*, v, p. 208.

³ *De Investiganda Vera ac visibili Ecclesiae Christi*, c. iv, 17.

done decently and reverently, but it meant nothing, because of defects in the consecrating bishops. Against Barlow as the principal officiant the attack has mainly been directed, and it has been seriously maintained that in fact he was never consecrated himself. Champney¹ first produced this theory a few years after the Nag's Head Fable. The chief reason on which this conjecture is based is that there is no record of Barlow's consecration. Nothing more untenable could be asserted. The theory was never heard of during Barlow's own life; he was always known as a bishop, and it is unlikely that he should have been allowed to sit in the House of Lords as a spiritual peer had there existed any doubt about his consecration. Besides there are other men, accepted by the Roman Church as bishops, the records of whose consecrations are not forthcoming or do not exist. Indeed, Dixon² has gone so far as to say that "perhaps such a certificate [of consecration] was regarded as optional or superfluous." With regard to the other consecrations, it is argued that suspicion gathers round the fact that they repeated the vital words as well as Barlow, although the Ordinal orders the archbishop alone to say them. When it is pointed out that they were following the Roman pontifical for a like case and should not be blamed, refuge is then found in objections to the Ordinal itself, which will be considered below.

The next question to be considered in this connection is that of jurisdiction. At the consecration of a bishop, he receives by virtue of the grace conferred in orders the power to exercise his office throughout

¹ *Treatise of the Vocation of Bishops and other ecclesiastical ministers.*

² *Op. cit.*, p. 225.

the Church. This power, however, is widely limited because he is consecrated to a special sphere of work and must exercise his office within the bounds of his diocese. It is unnecessary to enter into the details of the objections against Parker's consecrators in this connection as they would occupy too much space and must be read elsewhere. But in the final analysis Rome falls back on the novel theory that all jurisdiction flows out from the see of Rome, and that no bishop can validly exercise his functions apart from the express permission of the Pope, and that without this his actions are null and void. In reply it need only be pointed out that this theory was unknown to the Church for over a thousand years, that it owes its definition to Eugenius IV, and that the Council of Trent after fierce arguments made no pronouncement on it, though Parker had been consecrated some three years.

Finally in this connection something must be said of the records of Parker's consecration. At the outset it may be added that Dom Birt has recently fully accepted them. There exist four manuscript accounts : (1) In the *Parker Register*¹, (2) in *The Parker MSS.*,² (3) in *S. P. Dom Eliz.*,³ (4) in *Harleian MSS.*⁴ The last three are considered to be copies from the *Register*, but, so it is argued, unfortunately they differ from it and from one another, so that the *Register* cannot be accepted as a trustworthy contemporary account of the consecration. It would be a work of supererogation to examine once again what Haddon has done in his edition of *Bramhall*, where

¹ (Lambeth), ff. 9-10.

² (Corpus Christi Coll., Camb.)

³ Vol. VII, 67, 68, 69.

⁴ Vol. cccix.

the whole question of the documents is gone into with infinite detail. There cannot be the smallest doubt that the *Register* is absolutely trustworthy, and no serious Roman Catholic writer now ventures to cast doubt upon it. After all it has only been a temporary weapon which has had to be cast aside in the presence of serious and painstaking research.

III. TECHNICAL. We now turn to much more intricate objections which I feel can only be adequately handled by the professional theologian. In September, 1896, Leo XIII issued his Bull "Apostolicae Curae," in which he pronounced against English orders. The late Pope abandoned all the objections which we have considered in the last section. There are no historical objections now brought forward against English Orders, but they are declared invalid because of alleged defects in the Edwardine Ordinal.

The three mediæval divisions of a sacrament appear in the Bull: (1) *matter*, (2) *form*, (3) *intention*. In Holy Orders, Eugenius IV decided that the *porrectio instrumentorum* was the proper *matter*: but in the Bull "Apostolicae Curae" this position is abandoned by a wise silence and the *matter* is defined as the imposition of hands, accompanied by the strange statement "Quaternus hoc loco se dat considerandum." Imposition of hands has, we may add, been accepted by many of the best Roman theologians. The *form* must contain some words which will "fix or determine the meaning of the *matter*." For example the Baptismal formula, "I baptize thee," etc., determines the meaning of the water. So in Orders the words used must show that the imposition of hands, or *matter*, is intended to impart the grace of the episcopate, priesthood or diaconate. It must

be pointed out that in Holy Orders there has never been any uniform *form*. The Canons of Hippolytus merely mention the order to be conferred. Some *forms* contain a reference to the special function of the episcopate, or priesthood or diaconate. Other examples might be given, but it is enough to say that when Leo XIII spoke of "the Catholic rite" in connection with the *form* of Holy Orders, he spoke of something which has never existed. Rome, Greece, Syria, Armenia and other countries differ in this respect, as we do in England. Even Rome has not clung uniformly to one *form*. In dealing with the English *form* the Bull says that the *form* is insufficient, and it appears that the Pope wrote as if the words *Receive the Holy Ghost*, were all that were used in the ordination of a priest. Again the Bull says that there is no mention of priesthood in the Ordinal, which is perhaps the most extraordinary statement in a document which protests its historical accuracy. The real objection is that there is no mention of the "power of offering the Eucharistic sacrifice." Now it must be remembered that the English ordinal clearly refers to the priesthood, clearly expresses the power of priestly absolution, and clearly mentions the ministry of the Word and Sacraments, which of course includes the Holy Communion. But the late Pope condemned it for the reason that no specific reference is made to what he considers the greatest part of the priest's office—"power of offering the Eucharistic sacrifice." Perhaps it will be sufficient to answer that no such reference appeared in the Roman rite itself until the ninth or tenth century, nor does it exist at the present moment in certain rites which are accepted by the Roman

Church as valid. The details of the argument must be read elsewhere. Finally the bull brings forward *defect in intention* against our orders. Intention is "the purpose, as directing the use of means for the attainment of a selected end." In conferring orders as in the administration of other sacraments there must be the intention of "doing what the Church does." The best theologians leave aside a man's "internal dispositions" and "have taught that if a man seriously uses the rites prescribed by the Church, his intention must be taken to be shown by his acts." Leo XIII recognized this, but he regarded the English Ordinal as a rite unrecognized by the Church, and intended to reject the intention of the Church. Every local Church, it has long been recognized, has the right to change its rites, and it is clear that the English Church in asserting her power had no intention of abandoning the Catholic ministry. The Preface to the Ordinal is sufficient proof.

Finally, it may be added, that the patient research of Mr. Frere has proved that under Mary "not a single priest was deprived on the ground of having received Edwardine orders only." Many were deprived as married, and this in fact shows that their orders were recognized; otherwise they would have been deprived as laymen and classed as such, but there are no instances of this.

It is impossible to enter into the question more fully. The object has been not to give a complete history, but to point out lines of thought and the prominent weaknesses in the attack. I am deeply indebted to Dixon's excellent chapter on Parker's consecration and to the list of books mentioned above.

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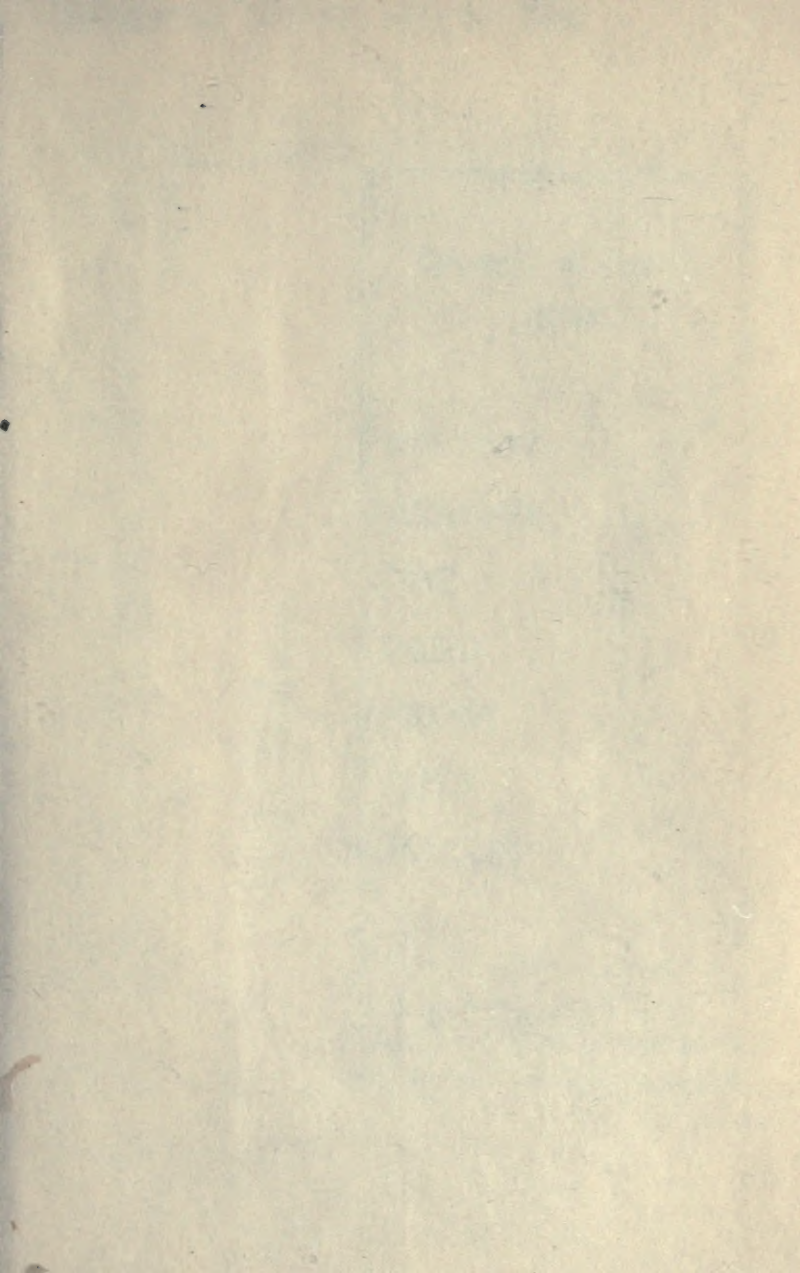
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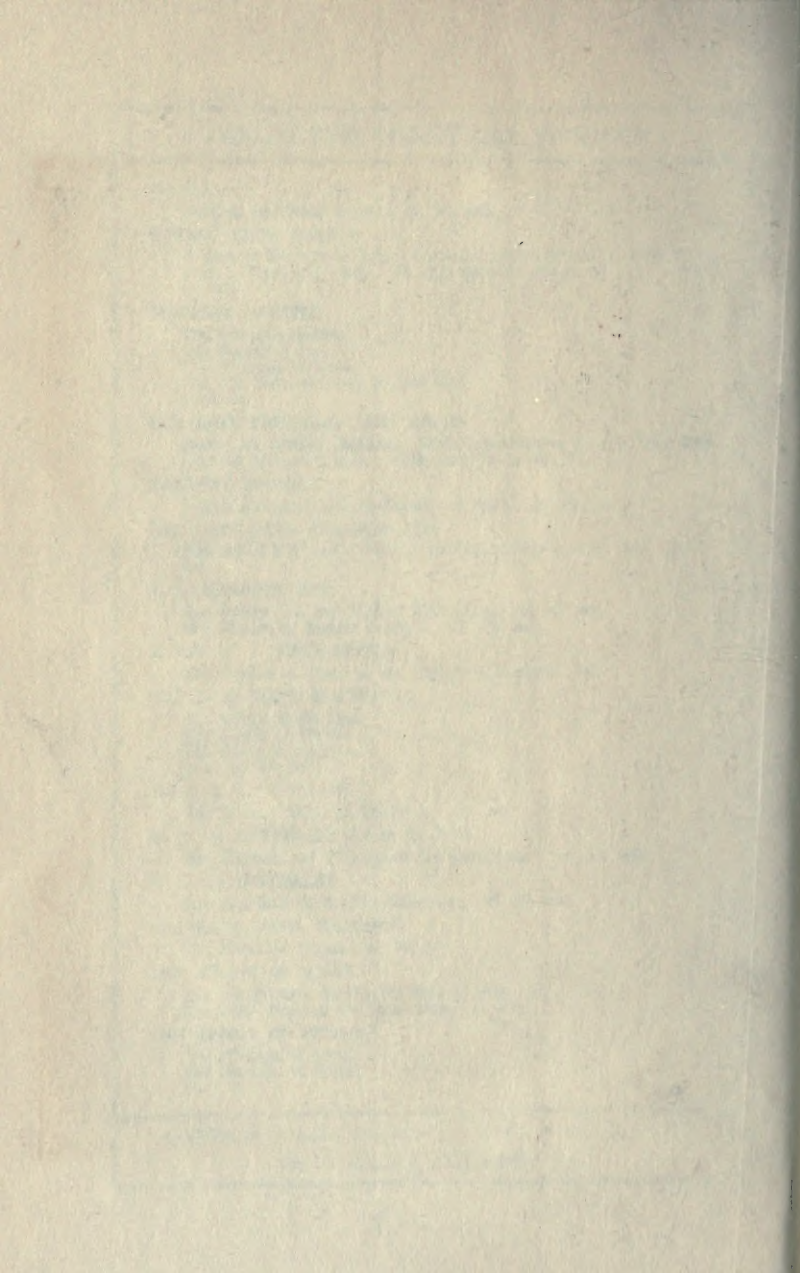
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